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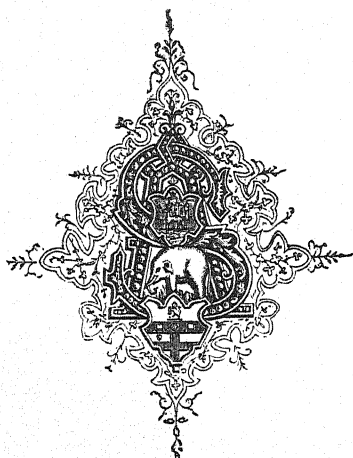
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# THE KARMA-PA SECT. A HISTORICAL NOTE

By H. E. RICHARDSON

## PART II

### APPENDIX A

1. Translation of Tibetan text of the scroll referred to on p. 148, *JRAS*, 1958. The Tibetan is in Appendix B, no. 6.

Passages in small capitals are in red in the original.

#### THE WONDERFUL DECREE "DELIVERANCE AT SIGHT"

BY THE GREAT MING EMPEROR THE KARMA-PA gZu'u la'i ta'i ba'u hwa wañ ta'i sin tsi tsa'i hu'o was invited and was made chief of all the *ban-dhe* (Buddhist monks) in the Empire. At Lin-gu svi-sde (temple) he performed a great service of prayers for the Great Imperial Father, Tha'i Ju, and the loving Queen-mother in order to deliver all creatures in the world from the round of transmigration and from hell. The service began on the fifth day of the second month of the fifth year of Yun Lo. On the first day there appeared an iridescent cloud of five colours, beautiful to see, expanding and contracting in various ways, IN BRILLIANCE LIKE THE WISH-GRANTING GEM. Also, above the *mchod-rten* (stupa) of Relics a ray of light, like the full moon, shone out unblemished and flickering a little. Also, two bands of golden rays rose above the dwelling place of the Precious Essence of all Bygone Buddhas, the Religious King, Powerful through Great Compassion, THE KARMA-PA gZu'i la'i ta'i ba'u hwa wañ zi then ta'i sin tsi tsa'i hu'o,<sup>1</sup> the place where he performed the ceremony after having made the *dkyil-'khor*<sup>2</sup> (mandala).

ON THE SIXTH DAY OF THE MONTH there was seen a large number of iridescent clouds, shaped like begging-bowls, which filled the whole sky. And on the clouds in the south-west many figures of the gNas-brtan (Sthavira) appeared, each followed by a large retinue. Some of them could be very clearly discerned and others not so clearly.

<sup>1</sup> The *rNam-thar* (f. 110) quotes the title gZu'u la'i, etc., in a slightly different spelling and apparently from a different source. It translates the title into Tibetan as follows: "De-bžin-gšegs-pa rin-po-che chos-kyi-rgyal-po nub-phyogs kyi byams-pa chen-po ži-ba-dbañ-phyug-gi sañs-rgyas—Precious Tathagata, Religious King, Great Loving One from the West, Buddha of Imperturbable Power." *PT*, f. 81, has a similar translation. This shows that the epithets "Precious Essence", etc., here are intended to be a translation of the title.

From the *Tibetan Grammar* of S. C. Das it appears that the title was borne by the Žva-nag-pa Lamas at least down to the time of the fourteenth Incarnation, rGyal-dbañ-theg-mchog-rdo-rje (1797-1845). I understand it is not applied to the present (sixteenth) Incarnation. Perhaps it ceased to be used after the end of the Chinese Empire.

<sup>2</sup> It might seem from the Tibetan text that only one *dkyil-'khor* was made but the *rNam-thar* mentions at least nine.



For a short time flowers fell from the sky, some fully blown, others in bud ; their stems and upper parts were all like crystal and they floated everywhere, both high up and low down. After that, a five-coloured rainbow shone above the chapel containing the *dkyil-'khor* made by De-bžin-gslegs-pa. Then after a time there appeared in the rainbow more than ten gNas-brtan carrying begging-bowls and pilgrim staffs ; some were wearing hats, others held yak-tail fans in their hands and they moved about among the clouds.

ON THE SEVENTH DAY OF THE MONTH there dropped from the sky sweet-flavoured, sweet-scented nectar that looked red and white in colour. Also, after a time, in a cloud of many colours there appeared very clearly a tree seemingly of gold and on its branches were flowers like glass, radiating light.

ON THE EIGHTH DAY OF THE MONTH many-coloured rays of light streamed from the south-west quarter to the north-east and flowers floated and danced in the sky. Five-coloured rays shone over the upper room<sup>1</sup> of De-bžin-gslegs-pa Rin-po-che and then vanished into space.

ON THE NINTH DAY OF THE MONTH there was a shower of heavenly flowers and nectar ; and in the upper air were seen many canopies, banners of victory, silken streamers, and so on. Also, a rainbow-hued light of five colours rose from the roof of De-bžin-gslegs-pa's upper room and vanished into the sky.

ON THE TENTH DAY OF THE MONTH there fell nectar as sweet as honey both to smell and to taste. A five-coloured ray of light flashed to the opposite ends of the sky ; and over the *mchod-rten* there rose three sacred relics like, for example, the moonlight gleaming on a jewel or the sun's rays on the waves of the sea. Those three bright globes moved up and down the *mchod-rten* and the circling light spread its radiance over all the ten directions. And again, after many men had seen innumerable *dGra-boom-pa* (Arhats) moving in the sky, there appeared more than ten *Ban-dhe* with bundles on their heads and staffs in their hands, who were seen approaching the street. On being questioned they said : " We are going to Liñ-gu-svi-sde to take breakfast." The men in the street, seeing that they had long eyebrows and broad foreheads and were very handsome, began to wonder and followed them to inquire who they were ; but on reaching the great main gate of Liñ-gu-svi-sde they could not discover where the *Ban-dhe* had gone.

ON THE ELEVENTH DAY OF THE MONTH an iridescent cloud of five colours arose and heavenly flowers fell from all sides. Nectar also fell ; and on a juniper tree blossomed a flower like a golden lotus with a thousand petals, compactly shaped and of surpassing natural

<sup>1</sup> *gnam khan*, which is found frequently in the text, is perhaps the translation of a Chinese word. It does not seem to be common in Tibetan but I am told it means " a room for meditation, an upper room ".

beauty. From De-bžin-gsęgs-pa's *dkyil-'khor* a five-coloured ray shone out.

ON THE TWELFTH DAY OF THE MONTH heavenly flowers, each as big as a *doṅ-rtse* (coin) filled the sky above the chapel in every direction and began to fall all around. On that night there could be seen above the head of the (image of the) deity a ray of red light like a rainbow, compact and very bright, illuminating everything. Also, a five-coloured ray of light shone above De-bžin-gsęgs-pa's *dkyil-'khor*; and over the *mchod-rten* a single relic rose as brightly as the sun, shining everywhere both above and below, so that the grass and trees were all seen clearly in its light. After a time this brightness appeared again.

ON THE THIRTEENTH DAY OF THE MONTH two Lamps of Perfect Intellect appeared. One came to rest on the tomb and one on the Palace. Also a circular light of five colours moved around the chapel where the *dkyil-'khor* was and shone above the upper room where De-bžin-gsęgs-pa was staying. At the same time there was a shower of flowers which circled round the Emperor's apartments<sup>1</sup> as they fell. At midday (when the sun was warm) there was a snowfall of good omen. On that night a brilliance like a jewel appeared above the building where the *mchod-rten* was and in its light the shape of the *mchod-rten* was clearly visible. A barefooted *Ban-dhe*, in appearance quite unlike any other, was seen wearing a ragged woollen robe<sup>2</sup> the skirt<sup>2</sup> of which he held in his left hand and his shoes in his right hand. As he went along he seemed to fly. People followed him to inquire who he might be and, although they were watching him, when he reached the front of the chapel they could not see where he had gone. Even though they searched they could not find him; but after a little they saw him sitting in a cloud.

ON THE FOURTEENTH DAY OF THE MONTH a blue Khyuṅ (Garuḍa) and a white crane were seen to fly up into the sky and dance around in it. A five-coloured rainbow cloud encircled the sun; and after a time another rainbow cloud split off from it and encircled the chapel, moving round it. Various phantom shapes, also circular lights, surrounded the upper room of De-bžin-gsęgs pa Rin-po-che. Then after a little while a golden ray appeared and vanished to the opposite end of the sky. Then a crimson ray shone out. It did not fade for a long time. And on that night, in a ray of five-coloured light, there was seen the form of a *dkyil-'khor*, while more than ten images of Bodhisattva (*byan-chub-sems-dpa'*) appeared, crossing from east to west as they came and went. Golden light shone from the four decorated prayer-masts (*'phan śin*).

ON THE FIFTEENTH DAY OF THE MONTH a five-coloured ray of light

<sup>1</sup> *gzim ther*, meaning not clear. Jäschke gives "*gzim ter*", "lamp"; but the reference here seems to be to part of the Imperial Palace.

<sup>2</sup> *Bin-po*, *ben-po*-. Explained as woollen cloth. Cf. Das Dictionary, '*ban-po*'.

shone over the chapel of De-bžin-śegs-pa (the Buddha) and also over the upper room of the living incarnation, the De-bžin-gśegs-pa Rin-po-che. After a time it separated into pieces shaped like lotus flowers and became very bright ; then after a considerable time it again reformed and shone as a five-coloured ray. In an auspicious cloud there was seen a hermit-saint (*drañ-sron*) of golden complexion. A white crane flew up into the sky and circled round dancing. After a while a white ray of light shone from the roof of De-bžin-gśegs-pa's upper room and disappeared into the east. That night over the *mchod-rten*, the chapel, and the dwelling of the Emperor a rainbow shone ; also two circular rays of light each illuminating the other.

ON THE SIXTEENTH DAY OF THE MONTH over the chapel of the *mchod-rten* and De-bžin-gśegs-pa Rin-po-che's upper room a five-coloured ray of light and a rainbow appeared. A shower of heavenly flowers filled the sky and fell on the royal tomb and the palace.

ON THE SEVENTEENTH DAY OF THE MONTH innumerable rays of five-coloured light glowed over the Precious *mchod-rten* and spread out so as to reach the roof of the chapel. On that night two men were seen standing on top of the prayer-masts ; and after that in the south-west many auspicious rainbow-hued clouds appeared on top of which were seen two *Ban-dhe*, high above the ground, with their hands joined in the attitude of reverence ; and on another small cloud one *Ban-dhe* with his hands joined was seen following after the other two. They all moved in the direction of the chapel and there they descended. Then they ascended again and, on the instant, vanished. Also, ON THE SOUTH-WEST HORIZON there appeared three five-coloured rays of light which travelled in a north-easterly direction towards the chapel of the *mchod-rten*. Opposite them in the east a white ray shone and five-coloured rays shone over De-bžin-gśegs-pa Rin-po-che's upper room.

ON THE EIGHTEENTH DAY OF THE MONTH, ON WHICH THE CEREMONY WAS CONCLUDED, came flocks of blue *khgyun* and white cranes which danced as they flew. There was a shower of flowers ; and in all directions there appeared iridescent clouds of many colours shaped like innumerable auspicious signs of good omen ; pearl-like drops of nectar fell and there were breezes of good omen. Many assemblies of innumerable deities of this world were clearly seen. Rainbow clouds formed in the shape of dragons, *khgyun*, lions, elephants, and of precious *mchod-rtens*. That night, on the tall prayer-masts which stood outside the main door, there appeared two heavenly lamps, of very intense red, and other lights, too, of different kinds which lit up the ten directions and by that light could be seen in the brilliant upper sky, even from a great distance, gods adorned with precious jewels riding on blue lions and white elephants. After some time there shone OVER THE MCHOD-RTEN a globe of light of intense brightness

with the form of a sacred relic. It merged into the heavenly lamps and an even more brilliant light flashed forth. Heavenly music of many sorts of stringed instruments caused the foundations of the house and of the *dkyil-'khor* to tremble. Those who were in the HOUSE OF THE DKYIL-'KHOR and who heard it thought that the sound was in the sky. It continued a long time in the upper air ; and after a little the whole of the *dkyil-'khor* appeared to have been transformed into a golden Paradise (*Žin-khams*).

ON THE THIRD DAY OF THE THIRD MONTH took place the presentation of the laudatory title *Gžu'u la'i ta'i ba'u hwa wañ zin then ta'i šin tsi tsa'i hu'o*. On that day more than 2,000 *Ban-dhe* of the kingdom were bidden to a midday repast at which time a five-coloured rainbow ray arose to the west of *Liñ-gu-svi-sde* and travelled towards the east. The light was like a bridge, extending the length of the sky. Then a five-coloured iridescent cloud, of intense brightness, arose and changed fleetingly into different miraculous appearances. Heavenly flowers fell one after another. Then rosy clouds with rainbow tints spread over the *mchod-rten* and over *De-bžin-gšegs-pa Rin-po-che's* upper room ; OVER THE UPPER ROOM shone three bands of five-coloured rays and while they were still visible a single ray of white light and three bands of golden rays shone forth.

ON THE FOURTH DAY OF THE MONTH *De-bžin-gšegs-pa* went to the Palace, to the *Skyil Nin* (Lake ?). On that day a rainbow of blue and white colour in five bands appeared and five-coloured rays of light covered *De-bžin-gšegs-pa's* upper room and from the *Rin-po-che's* upper room two white rays of light shone. Also a ray of five-coloured light glowed above the chapel of the *mchod-rten* and two white cranes flew up from the roof and danced in the sky.

ON THE FIFTH DAY OF THE MONTH the Emperor's retinue went to *Liñ-gu-sde* for a banquet. On that day there shone a ray of five-coloured light, iridescent clouds of five-colours and a ray of golden light. Below the sun there was a very bright radiance. Above *De-bžin-gšegs-pa Rin-po-che's* upper room five rays of light shone, also a golden ray. On that night a ray of crimson light rose in the south and glowed on the chapel, illuminating it very brightly.

ON THE THIRTEENTH OF THE MONTH, the day when *De-bžin-gšegs-pa* set out for *Ri-bo-tse-lha* on a pilgrimage to 'Jam-dbyaṅ's holy place, as he took his departure from *Liñ-gu-sde* a five-coloured ray of light rose in the north-west and a crimson ray shone on the upper room of *De-bžin-gšegs-pa Rin-po-che*. On the pinnacle of the *mchod-rten* flashed a single ray of light, in colour like gold ; also three bands of five-coloured light flashed above the roof of the chapel.

ON THE FIFTEENTH DAY OF THE MONTH all the *Ban-dhe* performed the ceremony of purification and offered their prayers to *De-bžin-gšegs-pa*. On that day a five-coloured iridescent cloud appeared and

flowers fell, filling all the sky. Two white cranes flew into the sky and danced and a jewel of many coloured light flashed. That night the sound of cymbals rang out first on one side then on the other. This lasted for a considerable time and then ceased.

ON THE SIXTEENTH DAY OF THE MONTH the semblance of two *mchod-rten*, one large and one small, appeared in the western chapel. The larger had five stories and measured two 'dom-pa (fathoms) and one hand's breadth up to the top of the finial spire. The smaller phantom *mchod-rten* had five stories. In height it was rather more than five hand's breadths between the base and the pinnacle. There was a very bright light and a golden ray which changed shape and moved about. Nectar dropped from the top of a Zo-lo incense tree and rays of light suffused everything.

ON THE SEVENTEENTH DAY OF THE MONTH eight bands of five-coloured light rays shone ; then a single ray each of blue, white, and red light which rose in the north-east. A golden light glowed over the chapel of the *mchod-rten* and a rainbow of five colours shone upon the roof of De-bžin-gšegs-pa Rin-po-che's upper room.

ON THE EIGHTEENTH DAY OF THE MONTH a ray of blue light shone from the south-west ; and a golden ray shone over De-bžin-gšegs-pa Rin-po-che's upper room ; then a rainbow brilliance and iridescent clouds just like gold.

2. Translation of Tibetan text of the letter of invitation from the Emperor Wu Tsung to Žva-nag-pa Mi-bskyod-rdo-rje referred to at p. 152. The Tibetan is in Appendix B, no. 7.

Many points have been clarified by translations of the Chinese text generously made for me by Professor V. V. Gokhale, Ferguson College, Poona, and Mr. D. C. Lau, of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London.

"Ta'i Hva Wan<sup>1</sup> Rin-chen-dpal-ldan, with single-minded devotion and after washing in scented water, offers this petition.

A humble request to the present Lord of Religion come, self-born, from the West to guide the world.

The fulness of your excellent nature like the all-knowing Heaven is wholly perfected by the experience of countless former lives. Unlimited in the impartial bestowing of divine benefits and blessing,<sup>2</sup> great in compassionate affection, diffusing religion to all quarters, you have now appeared to the world in bodily form.

In the reign of my ancestor you conferred a boon even to the

<sup>1</sup> The Chinese has "Ta Ch'ing Fa Wang", translated as Greatly Rejoicing, or Greatly Blessed, Prince of the Law. This is the religious title assumed by the Emperor. The Karma-pa Lamas bore the title Ta Pao Fa Wang, Very Precious Prince of the Law.

<sup>2</sup> The Chinese has here something about expounding the Law in heavenly assemblies. This seems to have dropped out of the Tibetan or the translator has gone astray.



present time through the teaching of the mystic religion in this eastern country when you came at his invitation to this realm.<sup>1</sup>

My mind has long been humbly devoted to this doctrine and in my thoughts the holy scriptures are of great profundity. In the winter of last year the venerable monk whom you sent, Kvon Tiñ Ta'i Gvo Sri Bsod-nams-rgyal-mtshan-dpal-bzan-po, honoured me by presenting gifts, coming here to the Palace.

Since your compassionate kindness, Lord of Religion, has ordained that you should be reborn in bodily form I rejoice at the auspicious conjunction<sup>2</sup> that links your destiny and mine. I have now provided presents of gold, silver, sacred images, and ritual vessels, with a principal offering of pearls and monastic robes; and having recently promoted the venerable monk Bsod-nams-rgyal-mtshan-dpal-bzan-po to the rank of Great Son<sup>3</sup> (of the Buddha) I send him together with my envoy from here, the Eunuch Le'u Yun of the Zi' Che' Kyen,<sup>4</sup> at the head of some lesser officials<sup>5</sup>; also principal officers of this place with their servants<sup>6</sup>; and monks with the rank of Gvo Sri, Chen Sri, Gyo'i, Du Gañ, and so on,<sup>7</sup> bearing presents from this distant land with dutiful and pious affection to invite you here desiring this only, Precious Lord of Religion, that you will show affectionate compassion and for the benefit of living creatures will speedily exert your miraculous powers and travel over the long journey, the hills and the valleys, taking no account of great rivers and the like. Come here I beseech you.

When you are come here it will be like a draught of water when I am thirsty. Be pleased to perform that infinitely miraculous transformation. Do not hesitate but come here and fulfil my wish.

I cannot write in detail of all that is in my mind."<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The earlier visit must be that of De-bžin-gšegs-pa in 1407, as is shown by mention in the Chinese of the Southern Capital. The Emperor Ch'êng Tsu transferred the capital from Nanking to Peking, but this was not done until 1414-1420. Wiegner (op. cit., p. 1751) states that the monk Ha li ma (Karma-pa) was received at Ling-kouo-seu (Lin gu svi), in Nanking.

<sup>2</sup> The Tibetan has the obscure phrase '*jal phrad ka bas*', but the Chinese confirms my translation. *Ka bas* must stand for *dga'bas*, or less probably *bkra-bas*.

<sup>3</sup> The Tibetan is *rGya-sras*. The Chinese has Son of the Buddha, which is a title given to high-ranking monks.

<sup>4</sup> Zi' Che' Kyen represents the office Ch'i ssü shê chien in the Chinese. The Eunuch Liu Yun is named in the Ming Shih as leader of the expedition.

<sup>5</sup> The Tibetan is *bra kyi bgo' byas*, which might conceivably refer to some sort of official dress (*bra* = marmot; *bgo'* = wear). The Chinese gives no help here, but I take the phrase to be a mistake for *phra kyi mgo' byas* (*phra* = ordinary; *mgo'* = head, leader), which occurs elsewhere in the letter.

<sup>6</sup> The Chinese is translated: "together with officials of the capital and retainers."

<sup>7</sup> The words *Gvo Sri*, etc., represent the monastic titles Kuo Shih, Chan Shih, Chüeh-i, and Tu Kang.

<sup>8</sup> A more literal translation of the closing sentence would be "I have not finished writing all the circumstances in detail"; but the Chinese, as translated by Mr. Lao, reads more graciously—"Faced with the task of writing this letter I am unable to say all I want to say and I hope you will give me your indulgence".

The fifteenth day of the ninth month of the eleventh year of Ta'i Min Cin De."

The letter consists of a silk-wrapped scroll some 5 feet broad by 2 feet high. The Tibetan is on the right, the Chinese on the left and the date in both languages, together with the imperial seal, are on the left of the Chinese text. The Tibetan is in the 'bam yig script. The text in transliteration and some textual notes will be found in Appendix B (Plates X and XI). It is apparently the work of a Chinese translator. There are so many inaccuracies in spelling and the construction is so ambiguous that without the invaluable guidance of the translations from the Chinese text by Professor Gokhale and Mr. Lau the meaning of the Tibetan would be obscure. Even with that help some passages still present difficulties. The footnotes do not attempt to cover every error and obscurity but deal only with the more interesting of them.

## APPENDIX B

Transliterations of letters, etc., in Tibetan from Chinese Emperors to Karma-pa Lamas.

1. Letter of the Emperor Togh Temur to Lama Rañ-byuñ-rdo-rje, dated 1331, quoted in *NT*, ff. 65, 66. See p. 145, *JRAS*, 1958.

Phrases in the Tibetan are separated by *śad*; in transliteration I have shown the divisions by a full stop followed by a capital letter.

"dKon mchog gum byi byin rlabs kyis bsod nams chen po'i dpal la brten nas rgyal po ñed kyī luñ Rañ-byuñ rdo rje la gsol ba. bDe bar gśegs pa'i bstan pa byañ phyogs kyī rgyal po rnams la dar ba 'gyur ba luñ bstan pa'i stobs kyis sañs rgyas kyī chos lugs kyañ ci rigs pa rtogs par yod 'dug. De rjes nas se chen rgyal pos kyañ bla ma dge ba'i bśes gñen rab tu mañ po brten žiñ bkur bas sañs rgyas kyī bstan pa sa cha 'dir dar byar byas 'dug pa kun la gsal mod. Ñed kyis kyañ bstan pa'i skyoñ bran legs par byed pa'i 'dod pa dañ khyed thos pa mañ po dañ yon tan khyad par du 'phags śiñ bzañ po du ma dañ yañ ldan žer ba thos pas mgon po la sogs pa'i gser yig pa rnams khyed len du btañ pa yin. Gal te khyed sñiad gžan byas nas mi yon bar gyur na. Dad pa can gyi sems sun 'byin pa'i ñes pa dañ rnal 'byor pa rañ gi yul spoñ ma thub pa'i bag chags sa bon dri ña ba dañ gžan don phyogs med du byed par 'dod pa'i lhag bsam 'jig par 'gyur pa'i skyon dañ. Bstan pa la ma bsam par 'gyur ba'i sdig pa dañ. Sems can rnams kyī dka' thub sdug bśnal la ji mi sñam pa'i sgrib pa dañ ñed kyī khrims lugs chen po'i 'jva' sa la log pa byas pa'i sgyo nas ñed kyī sems ma rañs par byas pa'i stobs kyis bstan pa byin po la gnod pa byas par mi 'gyur ba e yin debs na ñed kyis mgo byas byas sems can thams cad kyī don la bsams nas mgyogs par byon. 'Dir phebs nas bstan pa'i bya ba

khyed kyi 'dod pa dan mthun par sgrub pa yin. Lug lo dbyid zla tha chuñ gi tshes bcu gsum la ta'i tu na yod dus bris."

2. Letter from Togh Temur to Rañ-byuñ-rdo-rje dated 1332, quoted in *NT*, f. 67. See p. 146, *JRAS*, 1958.

"rGyal po'i luñ gi. dGe ba'i bśes gñen rañ byuñ rdo rje la gsol ba. Nēd kyiṣ mgon po mñags nas khyed len du btañ ba yin pa la. Nēd kyi luñ la log pa ma byas par yon gi yod žer ba thos pa'i don la. Ra dza ta tshe dben dan zam bh'o gñis mñags nas yi ge rten dan bcas pa bkur yod. Siñ kun tu ma bžugs par zla ba gñis pa'i tshes ñi su'i khoñs su pho brañ du slebs par byon. Spre'u lo zla ba dan po'i tshes gñis kyi ñin ta'i tu na yod dus bris."

3. Letter from Toghan Temur to Rañ-byuñ-rdo-rje dated 1336, quoted in *NT*, f. 69. See p. 146, *ib*.

"dKon mchog gsum gyi byin rlabs la brten nas. Tha'i hor tha'i tsu nēd kyi e ji. Chos rje rin po che karma pa'i druñ du. Na niñ bla ma yar byon dus thugs dgoñs bzañ po'i sgo nas rañ re la phan pa'i bya ba bzañ po sgrubs nas myur du phyir 'byon par žal gyis bzes siñ. Bla ma byon nas lo gñis soñ ba la. Bla mas gsuñs pa'i chos dran ciñ. Bla ma la mos gus dan dad pa yod pa'i don la. Sñar yañ gdan 'dren gyi gser yig pa btañ na 'an. De bar du 'dir nam chags phebs kyi tshigs gsal ma thos pa'i don la. Yañ bla ma gdan 'dren pa la dge bśes don rin gyi mgo byas gser yig pa rnams btañ yod pas. Rañ re la bsams nas bstan pa'i žabs thog la dgoñs te myur du 'byon pa bla ma mkhyen. Gal te myur du ma byon par gsuñ thog tu ma phebs na. Dad pa dan ldan pa'i bu slob rnams kyi yi chad pa dan. gŽan yañ chos la log pa rnams kyis thos nas. Khoñ lta bu gsuñ thog tu ma phebs na gŽan rnams gañ na bden zer ciñ bstan pa la gnod pas. gSer yig 'di rnams sleb pa dan nēd la bsams nas bstan pa'i žabs thog dan sems can gyi don la dgoñs nas myur du 'byon pa bla ma mkhyen. Yi ge gžigs pa'i rten. Nam bza' cha tshañ ma geig. gSer bre chen geig. mChod pa'i chas bskur bdog. Byi lo zla ba dan po'i tshes bcu'i ñin ta 'i tu nas bris."

4. Letter from Toghan Temur to the Lama Rol-pa'i-rdo-rje dated 1356, quoted in *NT*, f. 88. See p. 147, *ib*.

"Tshe riñ gnam gyi še moñ la bsod nams chen po'i dpal la brten nas rgyal po nēd kyi luñ. Rol pa'i rdo rje la gsol ba. Nēd kyi mgo byas gdul bya mañ po la dgoñs te. Khyed bod phyogs su skye ba bžes nas mtshur phu'i dgon par bžugs žes thos. De'i don la sñar gyi yon tan dan phrin las la bsam nas. Sems can mañ po'i don la tiñ ju dan dkon mchog rgyal mtshan gyis mgo byas gser yig pa rnams gdan 'dren du btañ yod pas. Da lta sñigs ma'i dus 'dir sdug bñal gyis gzir ba'i sems can la dgoñs te. 'Di phyogs kyi skal pa dan ldan pa'i gdul bya rnams la chos kyi bdud rtsis tshim par mdzad pa dan. Lam gol lam stor pa'i sems can rnams kyi 'dren pa mdzad pa'i don



la. Rañ yul spañs nas sku lus kyi tshigs la mi lta bar myur du 'byon par žu žin. Yañ thub pas gžan don du dgoñs nas sdug sñal dan du blañs te yul khams pa dad du sems can gyi don mdzad pa thugs la gsal mod. sKu khams kyi 'tsho skyoñ. Chos kyi bsad ñan. Bod phyogs rkyañ pa la žen par ma mdzad par. 'Di nas mñags pa'i gser yig par der sleb pa'i 'thad du ñed la bsam nas. 'Di phyogs su mjal dus sañs rgyas kyi bstan pa rgya cher ci nus su dar bar byed ciñ sems can mañ po thar lam la 'god pa la dgoñs la sñad mi mdzad pa myur du 'byon pa slob dpon chen po rol pa'i rdo rje mkhyen. mChod pa'i chas dan 'jva' sa'i rten la gser bre gcig. dÑul bre gsum. Gos phyi nañ dgu tshan gñis yod. Sprel lo zla ba bcu pa'i tshes bcu'i ñin la ta'i tu nas bris pa'i 'jva' sa bkra śis par gyur cig."

5. Letter from the Emperor Ch'êng Tsu (Yung Lo) to the Lama De-bzin-gsegs-pa quoted in *PT*, f. 77. See p. 147, *ib*.

"Bla ma khyed kyis. De-bžin gsegs pa'i chos zab mo mkhyen pa'i don la nub phyogs kyi sems can thams cad kyi don byed pa kun gyis skyabs su 'gro pa dañ gus par sañs rgyas 'jig rten du byon pa lta bu'i. Khyed thabs śes rab yon tan phrin las mehog gi dños grub ma thob na de bžin du sems can thams cad la phan pa rgya chen po ga la 'byuñ. Ñed sñar byañ phyogs su yod pa'i dus su khyed kyi mtshan bzañ po thos nas lan gcig mjal bsam pa'i sems bžin da lta go sa chen po la bžugs. Yul dbus kyi rgyal khams kun bde bar 'dug. Yun riñ du bsams pa la mun pa bsal ba lta bu drin mñam pa ñid phan yon thun moñ du mdzad dgos. Sñar Śa' kya thub pas thugs rjes bzun nas sems can thams cad kyi don byed. Thub pa'i chos kyi dños grub zab mo thob pa'i don la khyed thub pa'i thugs dañ gñis su med par 'dug pas yul dbus 'dir byon nas Sañs rgyas kyi bstan pa dar ba dañ rgyal khams kyi phan bde la dgoñs nas. Ñed kyis sñar bsams pa bžin rjes su 'breñs nas bla ma khyed cis kyañ 'byon par mdzod. Sñar gyi rgyal pos yul dbus kyi rgyal khams bde ba'i sgo nas bcos pa yin. Sañs rgyas kyi bstan pa la yañ dad pa sñon du 'gro ba. Ñed kyi yab Tha'i rgyal po hu hañ dañ dad pa can gyi btsun mo Hu ha'n bu gnam la gsegs nas yun riñ. Drin bsab dgos pa thabs gañ yañ ma rñed. Bla ma khyed thabs śes phrin las kyi sgo nas mehog gi dños grub thob pa'i don gyis Sañs rgyas gyi ño bo ñid yin par 'dug. Cis kyañ myur par byon nas 'das pa rnams la sgrol pa'i cho ga sgrub pa'i don la da lta'i li skyam. Śa'u skyam. Hu 'u rkyen la sogs pa mñags nas yi ge'i rten bskur gdan 'dren soñ yod. Bla ma thugs rjes bzun la mñes par mdzod la myur du 'byon pa žu. Yi ge'i rten gyi dñul bre chen gsum la srañ brgyad dañ lña bcu. Gos yug mdog mi 'dra ba phyi bcu. Nañ dar mdog mi 'dra ba bcu. Tsandan dum gcig. Spos dkar rgya ma bcu. Zu'u hañ spos rgya ma gañ. Ja dkar rgya ma brgya dañ lña bcu. Sna drug yun lo zla ba gñis pa'i tshes bco brgyad la pho brañ chen po nas bris."

I do not understand the date in the last line. Perhaps something

has gone wrong in the copying by dPa'-bo-Gtsug-lag. The date of the letter is probably not later than the fourth year of Yung Lo—1406—as the visit of De-bžin-gšegs-pa took place at the beginning of the fifth year.

6. The great scroll presented by the Emperor Ch'êng Tsu to the Lama De-bžin-gšegs-pa. See p. 148, *ib.*, and Appendix A, no. 1.

The text below is divided into sections, each dealing with one day, which in the original are separated by paintings illustrating the events described. In the copy which the Zva-nag Lama had made for me the phrases are marked off by a single, double, or triple *śad*. From photographs it appears that on the scroll itself punctuation signs are very few and that phrases are separated almost entirely by spacing. In the transliteration I have attempted to follow that model and have not used full stops and capital letters to divide the phrases as in the other transliterations. The copy also has several phrases written in red. I cannot recall whether this was so in the original but that seems probable, and I have shown those phrases in italics. There are numerous mistakes in spelling which will be sufficiently obvious without comment. As I have not been able to check them all with the original it is possible that some may be due to the modern copyist; but the work was done under the supervision of the Lama himself and, where I have been able to check it, the copying is accurate. It is improbable that copying mistakes are frequent.

“No mtshar 'ja' sa mthoñ grol chen mo bžugs so

*Ta'i min rgyal pos* Gzu'u la'i ta'i ba'u hwa wañ ta'i śin tsi tsa'i  
hu'o dkar ma pa gdan 'dren rgyal khams gyi ban dhe thams cad  
kyi gtso bo mdzad nas liñ gu svi sde nas cho ga chen po  
mdzad ya(b) tha'i ju rgyal po chen po byams pa'i yum btsun mo  
'jig rten gyi sems can thams cad 'khor ba nan soñ la sgrol ba'i  
don la yun lo sna pa zla ba gñis pa'i tshes lña'i ñin cho ga dbu  
btsug pa la žag dañ po la sprin 'ja' kha tog sna lña bltas na  
mdzes pa spro bsdu'i rnam pa sna tshogs *yid bžin nor bu'i*  
*'od dañ 'dra ba byuñ* yañ riñ srel mchod rten gyi steñ gu 'od zer  
phro ba zla ba ña gañ ba dañ 'dra žiñ dri ma med pa cuñ zad  
g-yo ba byuñ yañ gser gyi 'od zer rim pa gñis śar de bžin gšegs pa  
thams cad kyi ño bo rin po che chos kyi rgyal po byams pa chen  
po'i dbañ phyug kar ma pa'i gzim khañ gzu'i la'i ta'i ba'u hwa wañ  
zi then ta'i śin tsi tsa'i hu'o dkyil 'khor bžeñs nas cho ga bsgrub  
pa'i gnas.

*Tshes drug gi ñin* 'ja' sprin lhuñ bzo gyi rnam pa lta bu nam  
mkha' gañ ba byuñ yañ lho nub phyogs kyi sprin steñ du gnas  
brtan gyi sku mañ po byon re re la yañ 'khor mañ po rjes su  
'brañ ba la la ni śin tu gsal ba'i rnam pa la la ni cuñ zad mi gsal  
ba byuñ nas re žig bar la me tog bab nas la la gañ la la ma

gañ pa yu ba rten pa thams cad śel dkar po 'dra ba steñ 'og  
thams cad la 'phur ba byuñ yañ de'i rjes su 'ja' kha tog sna de  
bžin gśegs pas mdzad pa'i dkyil 'khor lha khañ steñ du śar de nas  
re žig tsam na sprin gyi nañ na gñas brtan bcu lhag tsam lhuñ bzod  
dañ mkhal sil bsnam pa la la ža gon pa lag na rña yab 'dzin pa

sprin gyi nañ na 'gro 'oñ mdzad pa byuñ.

*Tshes bdun gi ñin* nam mkha' la bdud rtsi kha tog mar dkar  
lta bu dri zim pa ro mñar ba bab yañ re žig rtsam na kha tog  
sna tshogs pa'i sprin gyi nañ du gser gyi ldon po lta bu'i yal ga la  
me tog śel lta bu 'od zer 'phro ba dañ bcas pa śin tu gsal ba byuñ.

*Tshes brygad kyi ñin* kha tog lña'i 'od zer lho nub kyi mtshams  
nas byañ sar 'tshams su slebs pa me tog namkha' la 'phur nas gar  
byed phyogs kun tu bdud rtsi bab de bžin gśegs pa rin po che'i  
gñam khañ steñ du 'od zer kha tog lña śar bar snañ la stoñ  
du soñ.

*Tshes dgu'i ñin* yañ lha'i me tog dañ bdud rtsi bab yañ nam  
mkha bar snañ la bya bres dañ rgyal mtshan dañ 'phan la  
svogs pa du ma snañ ba yañ 'ja' 'od kha tog sna lña de bžin  
gśegs pa'i gñam khañ steñ nas śar nas nam mkha la soñ.

*Tshes bcu'i ñin* bdud rtsi'i char bab dri zim pa ro mñar ba  
sbrañ rtsi 'dra yañ 'od zer kha tog lña nam mkha' la thad sor  
stoñ du soñ mehod rten gyi steñ du riñ srel gsum śar ba la zla  
ba'i 'od zer kyi rin po che la 'phros pa lta bu dper na ñi ma'i 'od  
zer rgya mtsho'i rlab la 'phros pa dañ 'dra 'od kyi goñ bu gsum  
mehod rten gyi steñ dañ 'og tu gyo žiñ 'khor ba 'od zer 'phros pa  
phyogs bcu kun tu khyab ciñ yañ dgra bcom pa dpag tu med pa  
nam mkha' la byon pa mi mañ pos mthon ba'i rjes la ban  
dhe bcu lhag tsam mgbo la 'bog char khrar lag na mkhar sil  
bzuñ nas srañ la 'gro ba mthon mi rnams kyi dris pa *ñed lñ*  
*gu svi sde la* gro zar 'gro zer srañ gi mis mthon ba smin ma  
riñ dpral ba yañ pa śin tu mdzes pa the tsom skyes ste ci  
'dra yin brtag pa'i ched du phyi nas 'brañs nas soñ sgo mo  
cher slebs pa dañ gar soñ ma mthon.

*Bcu gcig gi ñin* sprin 'ja' kha tog sna lña śar žiñ lha'i me tog  
kyañ 'khor nas bab bdud rtsi yañ bab sugs pa'i sdon po la gser  
gyi me tog pad ma 'dab stoñ 'dra bar 'bril pa rañ bžin gyi  
śin tu mdzes pa de bžin gśegs pa dkyil 'khor gyi steñ nas 'od  
zer kha tog sna lña 'phro ba.

*Bcu gñas kyi ñin* lha'i me tog che chuñ don rtse tsam lha khañ  
gi steñ na nam mkha' gañ ba khyab ciñ 'khor nas bab de'i nub mo  
lha'i dbu'i steñ na 'od zer dmar po 'ja' ltar 'bril pa śin tu gsal  
śiñ kun du khyab pa yañ 'od zer kha tog lña de bžin gśegs  
pa'i dkyil 'khor gyi steñ du śar ba mehod rten gyis steñ na riñ  
srel rdog po cig ñi ma śar ba dañ 'dra steñ 'og kun du 'phro  
žiñ rtsa śiñ thams cad de'i 'od kyiś gsal byuñ re žig na yañ  
de 'dra gsal ba byuñ.

*Bcu gsum ñin* śes rab kyi 'od zer gñis byuñ cig bañ so la zug cig pho brañ la zug yañ 'od kor sna lña yañ dkyil 'khor gyi lha khañ la 'khor ba yañ de bžin gśegs pa bžugs pa'i rin po che'i gnam khañ la śar ba dañ dus mñam du me tog gi char yañ bab ciñ goñ ma'i gzim ther la bskor nas bab ñi ma dros ka la dge ltas kyi kha ba byuñ de'i nub mo rin po che'i 'od mchod rten gyi khañ pa'i steñ du 'phros pa'i 'od kyi nañ na mchod rten gyi gzugs śin tu gsal ba cig byuñ ban dhe rkañ rjen pa skye gzugs gžan dañ mi 'dra ba bin po hrul po gon pa lag pa g-yon pa ben po'i mthu ba bzuñ ba g-yas pas lham bzuñ ba 'gro na 'phur ba dañ 'dra ci 'dra yin brtag pa'i ched du phyi bžin 'brañs nas bltas kyañ lha khañ gi mdun du slebs pa dañ gar soñ ma śes gar btsal kyañ ma rūed re śig tsam la sprin gyi nañ na bžugs pa mthoñ.

*Bcu bži ñin* khyuñ śnoñ po dañ bas ho'o nam mkha' la 'phur nas 'khor gin gar byed kha tog sna lña sprin 'ja' ñi ma la bskor ba re śig tsam na yañ sprin 'ja' gyes śiñ 'khor gin lha khañ la bskor ba yañ re śig tsam na gser gyi 'od zer cig śar nas tha sor nam mkha' la soñ yañ 'od zer dmar po cig 'phros nas yun riñ bar la ma yal de'i nub mo yañ 'od zer kha tog sna lña'i nañ na dkyil 'khor gyi rnam pa śar yañ byañ chub sems dpa'i gzug brñen bcu lhag tsam śar nub la 'gro 'oñ byed pa mthoñ 'phan śiñ bži'i rtse la gser gyi 'od śar.

*Bco lña'i ñin* kha tog sna lña'i 'od zer de bžin gśegs pa'i lha khañ steñ du śar yañ de bžin gśegs pa bžugs pa'i rin po che gnam khañ steñ du yañ śar re śig tsam na me tog pad ma bžin du dum bu dum bu śin tu gsal ba byuñ yun riñ cig lon pa dañ yañ 'od zer kha tog sna lña 'gyur žiñ śar yañ bkra śes kyi sprin gyi nañ du drañ sroñ gser mdog can cig yañ bas ho'o nam mkha' la 'phur žiñ 'khor nas gar byed re śig tsam na de bžin gśegs pa'i rin po che gnam khañ steñ na 'od zer dkar po cig śar nas śar phyogs su soñ de'i nub mo mchod rten dañ lha khañ steñ du rgyal chen gyi khañ pa'i steñ du thams cad la 'ja' 'od śar yañ 'od kor gñis gcig la cig 'phros pa byuñ.

*Bcu drug gi ñin* mchod rten gyi lha khañ dañ de bžin gśegs pa bžugs pa'i rin po che gnam khañ dañ gñis kyi steñ du 'od zer kha tog sna lña śar yañ sprin 'ja' śar lña'i me tog nam mkha' gañ ba bab bañ so dañ pho brañ gañ ba bab.

*Bcu bdun gi ñin* rin po che mchod rten gyi steñ du 'od zer kha tog sna lña dpag med 'phros nas dkyil 'khor gyi lha khañ steñ tshun chad du khyab par byuñ de'i nub mo 'phan śiñ gi steñ du mi gñis lañs pa mthoñ ba'i rjes la yañ lho nub na bkra śes pa'i sprin 'ja' mañ po byuñ ba'i steñ na ban dhe gñis lañs ste gus pas thal mo sbyar ba mthoñ yañ sprin chuñ ba cig gi steñ na ban dhe cig thal mo sbyar nas gñis po'i rjes su soñ ba mthoñ thams cad lha khañ gi phyogs su 'oñs te mar babs



nas phyir yar soñ skad cig la ma mthoñ yañ *lho nub kyi*  
*'tshams su* 'od zer kha tog sna lña gsum byuñ nas dkyil 'khor  
 gyi lha khañ gi steñ du byañ śar nas soñ yañ 'od zer dkar  
 po cig śar gyi thad sor śar de bžin gśegs pa bžugs pa'i rin po che  
 gnam khañ steñ du yañ 'od zer kha tog sna lña śar.

*Bco bryad cho ga rdzogs pa'i nñin* khyuñ sñon po bas ho'o tshan  
 pa tshan pa 'phur nas gar byed pa dañ me tog gi char bab pa  
 byuñ phyogs thams cad nas sprin 'ja' kha tog sna tshogs pa  
 dge ltas kyi rten 'bril mañ po mu tig gi rdog po lta bu'i bdud  
 rtsi mañ po bab rten 'bril bzañ po'i rluñ 'jig rten pa'i lha dpag  
 med 'tshogs pa mañ po mthoñ ba rnam byuñ sprin 'ja' 'brug  
 'dra ba khyuñ 'dra ba señ ge 'dra ba glañ po che 'dra ba rin  
 po che mchod rten 'dra ba de'i nub mo sgo'i phyi log na yod pa'i  
 'phan śin riñ po'i steñ na lha'i mar me gñis śin tu dmar ba 'od  
 gžan dañ mi 'dra ba phyogs beur gsal ba'i nañ na señ ge sñon  
 po dañ glañ po che dkar po la bcibs pa'i lha rin po che rgyan dañ  
 ldan pa 'od kyi bar snañ thag riñ sor bltas pa'i gsal ba mthoñ de nas  
 re śig na *mchod rten gyi steñ du* reñ srel lta bu'i 'od kyi goñ bu  
 śin tu gsal ba śar ba byuñ lha'i mar me dañ 'dres slar yañ 'od  
 chen por gyur lha'i rol mo sgra sñan sna tshogs pa khañ pa dañ  
 dkyil 'khor gyi sa gži gyo ba tsam byuñ *dkyil 'khor gyi khañ*  
 pa'i nañ du yod pa rnam kiñan pa sgra de yañ nam mkha' la  
 yod pa tshor bar snañ la yañ riñ du byuñ ba sogs yun riñ po  
 ma lon par dkyil 'khor thams cad gser gyi žin kham su 'gyur ro.

*Zla ba gsum pa'i tshes* gsum gi nñin bstod ciñ mtshan gsol  
 ba gžu'u la'i ta'i ba'u hwa wañ zin then ta'i sen tsi tsa'i hu'o  
 de'i nñin par 'jig rten gyi ban dhe khri tsho gñis lhag tsam la  
 dro drañs liñ gu sde nas 'ja' 'od zer kha tog sna lña nub phyogs su  
 byuñ nas śar phyogs su slebs 'od zer zam pa dañ 'dra riñ ba  
 gnam dañ 'dra yañ kha tog lña'i sprin 'ja' śar 'od rab tu gsal  
 ba sprul pa rigs mi 'dra ba 'gul ba lha'i me tog rim pa bab yañ  
 sprin dmar gyi 'ja' 'od mchod rten bkab de bžin gśegs pa'i rin  
 po che'i gnam khañ bkab *nam khañ gi steñ na* 'od zer kha tog sna  
 lña rim pa gsum śar bžugs na 'od zer dkar po cig śar gser gyi 'od  
 rim pa gsum śar.

*Tshe bži'i nñin* de bžin gśegs pa pho brañ nañ byon nas skyil  
 nñin la de'i nñin par 'ja' 'od sñon po dkar po rim pa lña śar yañ  
 'od zer kha tog lña de bžin gśegs pa'i gnam khañ g-yogs rin po  
 che'i gnam khañ steñ na 'od zer dkar po gñis śar yañ 'od zer  
 kha tog lña mchod rten gyi lha khañ la 'phros yañ bas ho'o  
 gñis steñ nas 'phur gin gar byed.

*Tshes lña'i nñin* goñ ma'i rgyal bcas liñ gu sde la dro 'dren  
 pa 'gro ba dañ de'i nñin par 'od zer kha tog sna lña śar yañ sprin  
 'ja' kha tog sna lña'i 'od zer śar gser gyi 'od zer śar nñi ma'i 'og  
 na 'phros pa śin tu gsal de bžin gśegs pa'i rin po che'i gnam  
 khañ steñ na 'od zer lña śar lha khañ la 'phros pa śin tu gsal ba.

*Tshes bou gsum gi ñin* de bžin gšegs pa ri bo rtse lña la 'jam dbyañs gi gnas bskor ba 'byon pa'i ñin leñ gu sde nas gžeñs pa'i dus su 'od zer kha tog sna lña nub byañ nas śar yañ 'od zer dmar po de bžin gšegs pa'i rin po che'i gnam khañ steñ du śar mehod rten kyī rtse mo na gser gyi kha tog lta bu 'od zer cig śar ba yañ lha khañ steñ du 'od zer kha tog sna lña rim pa gsum śar.

*Tshes bco lña'i ñin* ban dhe thams cad dag 'gyur gi chos 'don pa de bžin gšegs pa la smon lam 'debs pa dañ de'i ñin sprin 'ja' kha tog lña śar yañ nam mkha' gañ ba me tog bab yañ bas ho'o gñis nam mkha' la 'phur gin gar byed pa rin po che 'od zer kha tog sna tshogs śar de'i nub mo bar snañ la rol mo'i sgra phar 'phros tshur 'phros byuñ nas yun riñ por lon pa dañ med par gyur.

*Tshes bou drug gi ñin* nub pho brañ kyī mehod khañ nañ na mehod rten gyi gzugs rñen che chuñ gñis śar che ba la thog rim pa lña 'gan tsi ra'i rtse mo'i bar la 'dom pa do'o chag śiñ gañ mehod rten gzugs rten chuñ ba la thog rim pa lña mtho ba la gdan ma dañ rtse mo tug gi bar du chag śiñ lña lhag tsam yod pa 'od zer rab tu gsal ba gser tyi 'od zer 'gul žiñ gyo ba zo lo'i spos kyī sdoñ po thog na bdud rtsi bab pas 'od zer thams cad 'phros.

*Tshes bou bdun gi ñin* 'od zer kha tog sna lña rim pa brgyad śar yañ sñon po dkar po dmar po 'od zer cig śar byañ śar nas byuñ yañ 'od zer ser po mehod rten gi lha khañ la 'phros de bžin gšegs pa'i rin po che'i gnam khañ thog tu 'ja' kha tog sna lña śar.

*Tshes bco brgyad kyī ñin* 'od zer sñon po lho nub nas śar gser gyi 'od zer de bžin gšegs pa'i rin po che'i gnam khañ la śar yañ gser lta bu 'ja' 'od dañ sprin 'ja' śar."

The scroll is mentioned in the history of dPa'-bo Gtsug-lag (vol. Pa, ff. 77-82) and in the Karma-pa *rNam-thar*. In the former there is a long account of De-bžin-gšegs-pa's visit complete with details of his reception by the Emperor, the ceremonial, entertainments, presents, and so on; there is also a summary of the miracles. Much of the information is additional to that contained in the scroll and is presumably drawn from the *rNam-thar Chen-mo* at mTshur-phu. The passages are too long to quote and I shall only transliterate, below, a few sentences from each work which relate to the scroll itself.

PT, f. 81 b.

... "Ño mtshar mtha' yas pa byuñ ba rñams ñin so so'i liñ tse bkod. ... Bod rgya yu gur sogs yig rigs du ma'i žal yig dañ beas pa dar yug chen po geig gi dkyus tsam pa'i ño mtshar 'ja' sa žes gsi thañ yug dril du ma da lta yod par lta."

NT, 110 b.

"Nin re bžin no mtshar mi 'dra ba sna tshogs byuñ ba rnam gon ma'i bkas ri mor bkod pa dañ rgya hor yu gur tu ruska ste yig rigs lña'i kha byañ btab de 'dra sgar chen du a'n yod par gsuñs śiñ rnam thar chen mor yañ byuñ."

From the last sentence it appears that there was a copy of the scroll at sGar-chen. For this name see p. 158, *ib.* It is unlikely that more than one copy would be made of so large and elaborate a document and the reference here is probably to mTshur-phu.

7. Letter from the Emperor Wu Tsung to the Lama Mi-bskyod-rdo-rje dated 1516. At mTshur-phu. See p. 152, *ib.*, and Appendix A, no. 2.

"Ta'i hwa wañ rin chen dpal ldan gi sems rtse cig gi dad pas spos chus khruś byas nas žu yig phul ba. Nub phyogs nas rañ byon 'jigs brtan 'dren pa'i chos rje bžugs pa'i druñ du gus pas žu ba. Khyen rab namkha' ta bu sku yon tan rañ bžin kyi grub pa. Sku tshe dpag tu med pa'i phrin las rnam par dag pa. Mdžad phrin 'dod lha sñom par byin rlabs mtha' med pa. Byam rñiñ rje rgya chen po. Phyogs thams cad du bstan pa dar ba. 'Jig rten sku sñosu ston pa. Sku ned kyi yab me kyi mña than la phan pa la da'i bar du. Gsañ sñag kyi chos lug rgyud nas śar phyogssu. Gdan grañs nas yul du phed. Ned kyi sems bstan pa 'di la dad gus byas nas yun riñ du soñ ba. Bsam pa la gsuñ rab zab ciñ rgya che ba. Śnar lo'i rgun thog la Khyed kyi btañ pa'i gra rgan. Kvoñ tiñ ta'i gvo'i sri bson rgya (bsod nams rgyal mtshan) dpal bzañ po. 'Bul chas skur ba'i sños so. Pho rañ du sled pas. Chos rje byam sñiñ rje kul nas. Sku sñosu khruñ nas. Ned dañ las 'brel yod pas. 'Jal 'phrad ka bas. Da lan gser dñul sku 'dra' chos cha sog. Mo dig gi rnam sbyar gi mgo' byas (1). Gsar du gra rgan bsod rgyan dpal bzoñ (bzañ po) la rgya sras pa'i las ka par nas. De dañ 'dir sñag pa'i zi' che' kyen. Tha'i gyan le'u yun bra kyi bgo' byas. 'dir las ka can mgo' pa žam sdog pa. Gvo'i sri. Chen sri. Gyo'i du kan sogs. Thags riñ po nas 'bul ba skur nas brtse cig (2) gi dad pas gdan 'dren la btañ yod pa. Cig kyañ (3) chos rje rin po che byams sñiñ rje'i dgos nas. Semś can la 'phan pa'i phyir du. Myur du sdzu 'phrul mdžad nas. Lam sgrid thags. Riñs ba dañ ri' roñs btsugs pa. Chu chen po sogs la min mdzen pa (4). 'Di ru phed par žu žu. Khyed 'dir 'phed nas. Ned rkom pas chu mthuñs pa ta bu dañ 'dra'. sDzu 'phrul dpag tu med pa mdžad dgos. Thugs gñis pa ma mdžad pa 'phed nas. Ned kyi bsams pa rdzogs pa yin. Žibs kyi rgyun mtshan (5) yi ge bris mi tshar.

Ta'i miñ ciñ de'i lo bcu cig zla dgu bea' lña ñiñ."

There are many straightforward misspellings to which I need do no more than draw attention, e.g. 'jigs brtan for 'jig rten; rñiñ rje for sñiñ rje; lug for lugs; rgun for dgun; pho rañ for pho brañ;

sled for sleb ; žam sdog for žabs rtog ; śnag for mñag ; sdzu 'phrul for rdzu 'phrul.

Some points have been mentioned in notes on the translation in Appendix A and a few more may be noted here.

1. The Tibetan would appear to mean that the monks' robes were ornamented with pearls (mo dig + mu tig), but that is manifestly improbable and the Chinese text shows that the pearls and the robes were separate offerings.

2. brtse cig is probably a mistake for rtse cig.

3. cig kyañ is perhaps a mistake for cis kyañ, meaning " somehow or other "; but in the absence of clear guidance from the Chinese I have translated what is written.

4. min mdzen pa may be a mistake for min (pa) 'dzin pa or min mdzad pa. The meaning " taking no account of " appears from the Chinese text.

5. rgyun mtshan I take to be a mistake for rgyu mtshan.

The *rNam-thar* (f. 151 b) has a short paraphrase of this letter as follows :—

"Tha'i can sogs gser yig pa gdan 'dren du byuñ. 'Jva' sar. Ñi ma nub phyogs na lha rañ byon chos rje'i druñ du lus spos chus bkrus. Pus mos la btsugs nas žu ba. Ned karma pa sñiñ nas 'dod pa la skom pa chu 'dod pa ltar. Khyed dañ na las 'phro yod pas. La chen chu chen rnams 'ju 'prul gyis byon śog."

This inadequate paraphrase need not throw doubt on the general accuracy of the other letters quoted in the *rNam-thar*, which are mostly of greater length and include the date of writing. They have, I think, the appearance of genuine copies.



# APPENDIX C

## Principal Incarnations of the Karma-pa Sect.

ŽYA NAG-PA	ŽYA DMAB-PA	SL-TU RIN-PO-CHE	DPA'BO RIN-PO-CHE
1. Dus-geum mkhyen-pa	1110-1193	<i>The first mention of this incarnation which I have seen refers to the early fifteenth century, as I have at present no exact dates of these Lamas I have entered them as contemporaries of the Žya-nag-pa whose pupils they were. The line continues to the present day but I have not yet secured information about the Lamas from the nineteenth century onwards.</i>	<i>This line continues to the present day; but I have not yet secured information about the successors to the eighth Lama.</i>
2. Karma Pakši	1200-1283	1293-1349	
3. Rañ-byuñ rdo-rje	1284-1339		
4. Rol-pa'i rdo-rje	1340-1383	1350-1405	
5. De-bñin gśogs-pa	1384-1415	1406-1452	
6. Mñon-ba ldon-ldan	1416-1453		
7. Chos-grags rgya-mtsho	1454-1506		1. Chos-dbañ lhaun-grub 1440-1503
8. Mi-bskyod rdo-rje	1507-1554	1453-1524	2. Gtsug-lag 'phreñ-ba 1504-c.1566
9. Dbañ-phuyug rdo-rje	1556-1603	1525-1583	
10. Rgyal-mehog Chos-dbyims rdo-rje	1604-1674		3. Gtsug-lag rgya-mtsho 1567-1633
11. Ye-śes rdo-rje	1675-1702		4. Kun-tu bzañ-po 1633-1649
12. Byañ-chub rdo-rje	1703-1732		5. 'Phrin las rgya-mtsho 1640-1689
13. Bje-bśaun bdud-'dul rdo-rje	1733-1797		6. Gtsug-lag don-grub 1700-1765
14. Rgyal-dbañ theg-mehog rdo-rje	1797-c.1845		7. Gtsug-lag chos-rgyal 1766-c.1820
15. Mkañ-khyab rdo rje	c.1845-c.1927		8. Gtsug-lag ñin-lyed c.1820-9
16. Rañ-byuñ rig-pa'i rdo-rje	c.1927		

\* The succession is not clear. It is possible that the lama born c. 1639 died in about 1645 and was succeeded by another born in 1646

# THE TURKISH NUMERALS

BY GERARD CLAUSON

THE TURKISH LANGUAGES<sup>1</sup> are unusually rich in numerical series, and there are peculiarities in their numerical system which are, I believe, unparalleled elsewhere. The main facts are well known, and it might be thought that there was nothing more to be said about them; but several interesting points have never been properly discussed. The purpose of this paper is to call attention to them.

There are four distinct numerical series in Turkish:—

(1) Cardinals: one, two, three, etc.

(2) Ordinals: first, second, third, etc.

(3) Distributives: one each, two each, three each, etc.

(4) Collectives: one by itself, two together, three together, etc.,

as well as a few other words with a numerical basis, such as noun/adjectives for "twin, triangle, quadrilateral", etc., and verbs for "to do a thing twice", etc. On the other hand there are no numerical series either for the numerical adverbs, once, twice, thrice, etc., phrases composed of cardinals followed by a noun which varies from language to language being used for this purpose, or for the

<sup>1</sup> I use this term to include all languages of the Turkish family from eighth-century Türkü, the language of the "Orkhon Inscriptions" written in "Runic" scripts, which are the earliest substantial remains of Turkish, down to the modern languages of this family still spoken in Turkey, Persia, the Soviet Union, and N.W. China. By "early Turkish" I mean Türkü and Uyğur and the Manichæan dialects, which are very close to Türkü and, in their earliest known forms, practically contemporary with it. In an article, "The Turkish Y and Related Sounds," in *Studia Altaica, Festschrift für Nikolaus Poppe* (Ural-Altaische Bibliothek, Wiesbaden, 1957), I explained at some length what languages I have covered in my studies and the terminology employed. I use here the system of transcription explained in that article, roughly the Turkish Official Alphabet, with a few added letters and signs to represent sounds not adequately represented by it, notably *x* for the unvoiced velar fricative, the closed *é*, distinguishable from open *e* in early Turkish, and the use of an attached colon to indicate long vowels (*a:* is long *a*, and so on).

Roman numerals indicate a century of the Christian era from VIII onwards.

References to the Türkü inscriptions are to the texts published in H. N. Orkun's *Eski Türk Yazıtları*, T.D.K., İstanbul, 1936-1941.

*Kaş.* is an abbreviation for Mahmūd al-Kāşğari's (XI) *Dīwanu'l-Luğati'l-Türk*; references by volume, page, and line are to Besim Atalay's Turkish translation published by the Türk Dil Kurumu, Ankara, 1939 and foll.

References to the (XI) *Kutadğu Bilig* are to the critical edition by R. R. Arat, T.D.K., İstanbul, 1947.

References to the (XV/XVIII) *Sanglax* are to the MS. belonging to the Gibb Memorial Trust, a reproduction of which will, it is hoped, be published shortly.

fractions which are expressed by such phrases as *üçte bir* "one third".

*The Cardinals.* The earliest known forms of the cardinals are as follows :—

*Units :* *bir*, *ékki*(?), *üç*, *tört*, *béş*, *altı*, *yétti*(?), *sekkiz*(?), *tokkuz*(?).

*Tens :* *on*, *yégirmi*, *ottuz*(?), *kırk*, *ellig*(?), *altmış*, *yétmiş*, *sekkiz*(?)—*on*, *tokkuz*(?)*on*.

*100* *yüz* ; *1,000* *bin* or *biñ* ; *10,000* *tümen*.

These are the VIII forms in *Türkü*, *Uygur*, and the Manichæan dialects. By XI, at any rate in *Xakani*, 80 and 90 had been contracted to *seksöm* (*Kaş. I* 437, 21), and *tokson* (*Kaş. I* 437, 16). In each case *Kaş.* says specifically that these words were crases of the old longer forms.

Some of these words end in consonants and some in vowels. This affects the formation of the other series, and to avoid unnecessary verbiage I shall in future refer to them as C-words and V-words respectively.

It will be noticed that the words for 2, 7, 8, 9, 30, and 50, which contain double inter-vocalic consonants, are followed by a query. In the case of 2 there is a double doubt about the original form. VIII *Türkü* and some Manichæan texts consistently spell the word with an initial *e-*, and there are sporadic spellings with *e-* or *é-* in some modern languages. In the other Manichæan texts, *Uygur*, and the medieval texts in Arabic script the word is spelt with letters which normally represent *i-* but could also represent *é-*. In nearly all modern languages it is pronounced with *i-*. This is what normally occurs when a word originally contained an *é*, but the point is not free from doubt.

The other doubt in this and the other five similar numerals relates to the (single or double) intervocalic consonants. It is notorious that all Turkish languages are allergic to double consonants, except when a suffix with an initial consonant is attached to a word with a final congruous consonant, and no ordinary basic Turkish word contains a double consonant. It is therefore very remarkable that there is a steady tradition of spelling all these six numerals with a double consonant. This does not, on the face of it, occur in *Türkü*, *Uygur*, or the Manichæan dialects, but there is no real proof that double consonants would have been written differently from single consonants in the alphabets used for these texts and

some evidence to the contrary. For example, in the "Runic" script words in which a suffix is attached to a root ending in a congruous consonant are spelt with one, not two, consonants. In *I E 7*; *II E 7* *ittu*: (for *ıttu*:) "gave up, abandoned" is spelt *ittu*. When the Arabic script, with its convenient device for marking a double consonant with a *taşdîd*, was adopted for writing Turkish the position becomes quite clear. In *Kaş.* the spelling *ikki*: (or *ékki*?) occurs some seventy times, and *iki*: (*éki*:?) and *ıki*: (*éki*:?) less than half a dozen times each, and then probably inadvertently. *Yétti*: (*III 27, 9*) is entered under the heading *fa'la*, which requires a double consonant, although the *taşdîd* is not actually written in the MS. *Sekiz* (*I 365, 14*) is specifically described as an abbreviation (*taḫḫif*) of *sekkiz*. *Ottuz* is so spelt (*I 142, 24*); so too is *ellig* (*I 143, 10*). Only *tokuz* on the two occasions on which it is mentioned (*I 437, 16*; *III 127, 14*) is spelt with a single *-k-*, but there is no main entry of the word itself, and the spelling in *Kaş.* of words which are not main entries is notoriously less meticulous.

The subject is also referred to in Mirzā Mahdī Xān's *Sanglāx*, an XVIII handbook of XV Çağatay (*folio 20 v. 9 ff.*; pp. 107-8 of Sir Denison Ross's edition of the Preface, *The Mabāni'l-Lughat, being a Grammar of the Turki Language in Persian, by Mirzā Mehdi Khān*, Bibliotheca Indica No. 1225, Calcutta, 1910). It says that there are only a few *hurūf-i muṣaddada* in Çağatay, and then mentions only the four numerals *ikki*, *yétti sekkiz*, *tokkuz*, adding that they can also be spelt with a single consonant (*taḫḫif*). However *éllig*, though not mentioned here, is so spelt in *fol. 113 r. 7*; only *otuz* appears (*fol. 62 v. 10*) with a single *-t-*.

There is another important piece of evidence for the early existence of these double consonants. Modern Chuvash is the direct descendant of the language of a tribe, probably the Proto-Bulgars, which broke away from the main mass of Turks and moved west of the Urals, certainly before VIII and perhaps as early as IV. Chuvash became a written language only recently, and in its modern form shows wide phonetic differences (such as the substitution of *l* for *ş* and *r* for *z*) from standard Turkish. But in spite of these far-reaching changes the language still retains a tendency which must have come down from before VIII, to spell these words with double consonants. The only form of 50 is *allä*<sup>1</sup>; and there are alternative spellings, with and without the double consonants, for 2 (*ikké, iké*),

<sup>1</sup> See N. K. Dmitriev and others, *Russko-Chuvashskiy Slovar'*, Moscow, 1951.

7 (*s'ıçë, s'ıççë*), 8 (*sakkär, sakär*), and 9 (*täxxär, täxär*). Only 30 (*vätär*) has lost its double consonant.

In other modern languages *ellig* has retained its double consonant nearly everywhere, but in the other five words there are only sporadic survivals of the longer form. We can, however, confidently say that in the earliest period these six numerals alone among all Turkish basic words were pronounced with a double consonant. There is no obvious explanation of this curious phenomenon.

It will also be noticed that there is a very unusual relationship between the units and the corresponding tens. In most languages the words for one to ten are etymologically independent from one another, but there is a direct etymological connection between the units and the corresponding tens. This applies for example to the Indo-European and Semitic languages (except that in the latter case twenty is usually the dual of ten), and also to Mongolian and the Tungus languages.<sup>1</sup> In Turkish, however, the etymological connection between the units and tens does not start till sixty; there is no connection whatever between two (or ten) and twenty, three and thirty, four and forty, or five and fifty. The question why the connection did not start till this point is perhaps more one for anthropologists than philologists. One possible explanation is that in the remote times when the Turks evolved and stabilized their language they were a pastoral people living in small groups and owning small herds, and that, while they were constantly concerned in counting up to fifty, they never had occasion to talk of higher figures. Another possible explanation is that it is evidence of the superposition of a quinquial on a decimal system. Generally speaking the Turkish is a pure decimal system evolved at a time when things were counted on the fingers (including thumbs) of both hands. It is therefore basically different from the two other known systems of numeration. The sexagesimal system, of which we have survivals in the English system of counting in dozens, having sixty seconds in a minute, and so on, was of course evolved at a time when things were counted up to twelve on one hand by touching each of the three joints of each of the four fingers with the tip of the thumb and using the fingers (and thumb) of the other hand to count up to sixty (five dozens). The third known system is the vigesimal one, of which we have a survival in the English

<sup>1</sup> This fundamental difference between these languages and Turkish is an important argument against the theory that they are genetically connected.



numeration by scores. We seem to have got this from the Continent, where French-speakers, except in parts of Eastern France, Belgium, and Switzerland, call seventy *soixante dix* and have similar expressions for eighty and ninety. It is generally accepted that the French inherited this system from the Basques, who have independent words only for one to ten, a score, and a hundred, and build up 11 to 19 with compounds of ten and the units and 21 to 99 with combinations of one score (two, three, and four score), and the words for 1 to 19.<sup>1</sup> So far as I am aware, no one has ever explained how this system came into existence. My own flippant suggestion is that it was evolved in a dry climate where people could sit down to count and use their toes as well as their fingers.

Another interesting feature of the Turkish system is the difference between sixty and seventy, *altmış* and *yétmiş*, and the phrases *sekkiz(?)ön* and *tokkuz(?)ön* for eighty and ninety. Except in these two words the suffix *-miş/-miş* occurs in Turkish only as a verbal suffix forming a kind of participle, and no satisfactory explanation of its use in these two numerals has ever been produced. They go back to an early stage in the language since in Chuvash 60, 70, 80, and 90 are *utmäl*, *s'itmäl*, *sakärvun*, and *täxärvun*. On the other hand, they may not go back to a very remote past, since the North-Eastern languages (Khakas, Tuvan, Mountain Altay, etc. to give them the names by which they are now known in the Soviet Union), which have not diverged to any very great extent from standard Turkish, seem to preserve traces of an earlier stage of evolution. In them 60 and 70 are *aldan/altan* and *çeden/çéton* which are obviously modern forms of *altı: ön* and *yéti: ön*. It is of course possible that these are not archaic survivals but neologisms, but this is not very probable.

It should be added that in one language which preserves some very archaic traits, that of a Turkish tribe in Kansu, N.W. China who call themselves *Sarığ Yuğur* (Yellow Uyğur),<sup>2</sup> all the tens above thirty, and sometimes twenty and thirty also, are formed by appending *ön* to the appropriate unit; but this language has been so much under Chinese influence that this practice may well be a recent imitation of Chinese, not an archaic survival. *Per yuz* for 100 is certainly a Chinese and not a Turkish idiom.

Apart from those scholars who still hold by the Altaic theory

<sup>1</sup> See W. J. van Eys, *Outlines of Basque Grammar*, London, 1883, p. 27.

<sup>2</sup> See S. E. Malov, *Yazyk zhettykh Uyğurov*, Alma Ata, 1957, p. 178.

and contend that Turkish, Mongolian, and Tungus are descended from a common ancestor, no one has ever suggested that the words for the units, tens and 100 are anything but pure Turkish. Equally, starting at the other end, no one would now seriously contend that 10,000, *tümen*, is other than a loan word from "Tokharian", either "Tokharian A" (Agnean) *tmām*, or, more probably, "Tokharian B" (Kuchæan) *tumane/tmāne*. The word first appears in VIII Türkü and Uyğur inscriptions. In *II S. 1* *bir tümen artuk: yéti bir süg* "17,000 troops", and *II S. 8 üç tümen süg* "30,000 troops", its numerical significance is precise; but in *I N. 12 bir tümen ağır* "10,000 precious things" and *Şine Usu E. 9 bir yıllık tümen künlik* "a thousand years and ten thousand days" (both phrases with a very Chinese flavour), it hardly means more than "an indefinitely large number". This is certainly how *Kaş.* understood it for in *I 402, 5* he translated *tümen* = *al-katir* "a great many" and *tümen min* "a thousand thousand". Thus it looks very much as if the word had first been taken into Turkish as one for a larger number than any hitherto expressed and was only by degrees quantified in its true meaning of 10,000.

So far as I am aware, no one has ever yet suggested that the word for 1,000 is other than pure Turkish, but there do seem to be some indications to the contrary. In the first place it is not unusual for primitive peoples to borrow foreign words for their higher numerical denominations. The Basques, for example (see van Eys, loc. cit.), have no native word for anything higher than 100; *milla*, 1,000, is obviously a loan-word, presumably from Latin. In Turkish *tümen* is a loan-word acquired after they had come into contact with the "Tokharians" (*öküz* "ox" from *okso* is another); by parity of reasoning 1,000 might also be a loan-word acquired at a rather earlier period. Secondly there is a suspicious resemblance between the Turkish word for 1,000 and the Chinese word for 10,000, in modern Chinese *wan*, in the VIII Tibetan transliterations *hban/hbun* (i.e. *mban/mbun*) (see F. W. Thomas and G. L. M. Clauson, "A Chinese Buddhist Text in Tibetan Writing," *JRAS.*, 1926, p. 518), in Karlgren's Ancient Chinese *m<sub>2</sub><sup>w</sup>vn*, and Archaic Chinese *m<sub>2</sub><sup>w</sup>än* (*Grammata Serica*, Stockholm, 1940, p. 197). The Chinese character for this word, in its earliest form, is a picture of a scorpion and it is very likely that the word originally meant "a very large number", as many as the insects, a meaning which it still retains in a good many phrases, and was only later quantified

as 10,000, the next denomination higher than the then existing highest denomination, 1,000 (*ch'ien*). Finally there is some uncertainty about the pronunciation of the word itself in VIII Türkü. In *II S. 1* and *Şine Usu*, *line on edge*, it is *bir*; in *Şine Usu E. 9* and perhaps *E. 11* it is *bir*; and in *Irk Bitig 48 (XXXII)* it is *mir* or *mir* (the two are indistinguishable). It can of course be argued that *bir* is a misspelling (misspellings do occur in these inscriptions), and the sound change *b > m* in words containing nasals is a common phenomenon in Turkish. But it is equally true that variations in pronunciation are particularly common in loan words.

It is, therefore, not impossible that *bir/bir*, as well as *tümen*, is a loan word. This leaves *yüz* poised rather precariously between the words which are certainly pure Turkish and those which may be loan words. It looks good Turkish; it is certainly not Chinese or "Tokharian", and there is nothing to suggest that it is a loan word from any other language; but it may not originally have meant specifically 100. If in the earliest period the Turks habitually counted only up to 50, they would certainly have wanted a word for "an indefinitely large number" and that may originally have been the meaning of *yüz*. The other meaning of *yüz* is "a face", but it would probably be unduly fanciful to suppose that they got their first indefinitely large figure from the concept of "all those faces".

Another very odd characteristic of the Turkish numerical system, so far as I am aware not precisely paralleled elsewhere (certainly not in Mongolian or Tungus), is the method used to express "broken tens", that is 11, 12 . . . , 21, 22 . . . , and so on. This is done in early Turkish by placing a unit *before the next highest ten*; for example 11 is *bir yégirmi*, 23 *üç ottuz* and so on. This is of course fundamentally different from the subtractional method seen in the Latin idiom for 18 "twenty less two". It looks very much as if this method must have evolved at a time when the Turks did not count above 50; *bir altı on* would have been very clumsy and *ékki yüz* frankly ambiguous, since it might be either 98 or 200. This was still the standard practice in Türkü, the Manichæan dialects, and Uyğur, at any rate for numbers up to 89, but for higher figures the higher denomination precedes the lower. In Türkü the two were connected by *artuki*: "and in addition to it", see the phrase in *II S. 1* quoted above, but later this word was omitted. The standard Uyğur method is exemplified in the numeration



of the pages of manuscripts. In the MS. of which parts were published in F. W. K. Müller's *Uigurica IV* (S.P.A.W., 1931) the pagination runs up to *üç yüz beş otuz* 325; it is to be noted that in *Uigurica III* (A.P.A.W., 1922) 79 is *tokuz sekiz on* (p. 51), but 95 is *tokuz on beş* (p. 57). In late Uyğur the latter method is used also for lower figures, e.g. *otuz bir* 31, and by XI Xakani this is the standard method for all "broken tens". The only language later than early Uyğur in which the older method still survives is that of the Sarıg Yuğur (see Malov, op. cit., p. 178) where 11 is *per yığırma* and 21 *per otuz*, but 31 is *uçon per*, which seems to show that the older method survives only up to 29.

Finally it is interesting to consider what light the cardinals throw on the fundamental structure of the Turkish language, since they are all basic words not susceptible of further analysis into component parts. There are seven (or eight) monosyllables: *bir*, *üç*, *dört*, *beş*, *on*, *kırk*, *yüz* (and *bin/bin*); seven dissyllables: *ekki*, *altı*, *yetti*, *sekkiz*, *tokkuz*, *ottuz*, and *ellig*; and one trisyllable *yégirmi*. This is probably a fairly characteristic pattern of early Turkish as a whole, except for the high proportion of monosyllables. It will be noted that one monosyllable and three dissyllables end in *-z*; this again is fairly characteristic, though on the high side. It has from time to time been suggested (see, for example, C. Brockelmann, *Osttürkische Grammatik*, Leiden, 1954, para. 120a) that *-z* is a suffix for, or at any rate an indication of, a dual; the suggestion does not stand up to careful analysis, and is certainly not supported by these words, of which one *tokkuz* designates an odd, not even, figure, and the other three cannot possibly be explained as duals of their halves.

*Ordinals.* These are all, in principle, formed the same way. In early Turkish this was done by adding *-nç* to V-words, and *-nç* preceded by a euphonic vowel, *-u/-ü-* for words containing rounded vowels and *-ı/-i* for the rest, to C-words. In practice, as Kaş. points out (*III* 373, 9) *birinç* is rare, being usually replaced in Uyğur by *başınkı*, and after XI by the Arabic equivalent *avval*. Exceptionally the oldest form of "second" is *ékinti*, which is the only form in Türkü, the Manichæan dialects, and Uyğur. *İkinç* (or *ékinc* P) first appears in XI Kaş., as an alternative to *ikindir* (*sic*); this latter word still survives in several modern languages, but now only in the meaning "afternoon prayers", or more vaguely "afternoon". The remaining ordinals are all regular, for example

üçünç, törtünç, béşinç in *Kaş. III* 448-9. It is not impossible that *ékinti* is a survival, the only one, from an earlier period when the suffix was *-ntı/-nti*, and that this had become abbreviated except in this case to *-nç* by VIII; the sound change *-tı > ty > ç* is a common phonetic phenomenon.

Be that as it may, *-nç* did not long remain as the standard ordinal suffix; by about XV it was becoming obsolete and being replaced by *-nçı/-nçi*, or in some languages *-ncı/-nci*. The shorter form is the only one known to *Kaş.*, and is generally speaking the standard form till nearly XV; but the longer form appears as an alternative as early as the *Kutađđu Bilig* (almost exactly contemporary with *Kaş.*) no doubt *metri gratia*, and in XV Çağatay the two forms are used indifferently, with preference in prose texts for the longer one. In the *Sanglāx* the relationship between the two forms is rather neatly reproduced, *ikingç* being translated *duyum* and *üçünç siyyum*, while *ikinci* and *üçüncü* are translated *duyumın* and *siyyumın*. The Persian shorter and longer forms are completely synonymous. At the present day the shorter forms in *-nç* seem to survive only in Sarıg Yuğur.

Theoretically an ordinal can be formed from any cardinal, and in the list of Chapters in the Vienna MS. of the *Kutađđu Bilig* the numeration runs up continuously to *yétmiş ikinci*, but it would be difficult to find anything higher.

*Distributives.* These too are in principle all formed the same way, by adding *-ar/-er* to C-words and *-ar/-er* preceded by a euphonic consonant to V-words. In early Turkish this was *-r-*, but this was later replaced by *-ş-*. In theory a distributive can be formed from any cardinal, but in the nature of things distributives are rarer than numerals of either of the two preceding classes and in most cases no occurrences, or at any rate no very early occurrences, can be traced; indeed in some modern languages the whole series seems to have disappeared. *Birer* is recorded as early as Uyğur (see Bang and von Gabain, *Analytischer Index zu den fünf ersten Stücken der Türkischen Turfan-texte* (S.P.A.W., 1931), p. 15). *İkirer* (*ékirer*?) occurs in Uyğur in such phrases as *tört öđ içinde yana ikirer öđ adırılır* "again, in each of the four seasons (of the year) two (sub-)seasons are distinguished" (*Türkische Turfan-texte VI* (S.P.A.W., 1934), line 325), and survives at any rate until XV Çağatay, since in the *Sanglāx* (*folio 109 r. 23 and 26*) both *ikirer* and *ikişer* are listed, the first with a quotation from Nawā'i,

and both translated *dū tā* "two shares (each)". **İkkişer** is listed in a XV (before A.D. 1426) Kıpçak vocabulary (*Et-Tuhfet-üz-Zekiyye*, T.D.K., İstanbul, 1945), and **ikişer** occurs in a letter from Uluğ Muḥammad Xān of the Golden Horde to Sultan Murad II dated A.H. 831/A.D. 1428 (A. N. Kurat, *Altın Ordu, Kırım ve Türkistan Hanlarına ait Yarluk ve Bitikler*, İstanbul, 1940, p. 9). **Üşer** is used in a late Uyğur contract (No. 34 in W. Radloff, *Uigurische Sprachdenkmäler*, Leningrad, 1928); **üçer böz aldımız** "we (two persons) have each received three lengths of cloth". "Six each" is another word of which both earlier and later forms are known. **Altırar** is used in the contract just quoted; **altırar bözni köni bérirbiz** "we undertake to give six lengths of cloth each". **Altışar** is recorded in XIX as occurring in the N.W. (Kazan, Kırım, etc.) and S.W. (Osmanli, etc.) languages and no doubt existed earlier. It is mainly in these language groups that distributives still survive.

Distributive numerals seem to be found in very few languages other than Turkish. They do exist in Mongolian and perhaps the Tungus languages, but the suffixes used are entirely different. In Classical Mongolian (see N. Poppe, *Grammar of Written Mongolian*, Wiesbaden, 1954, p. 55) the suffix attached to the ordinals (usually abbreviated) is traditionally spelt **-ğad/-ged**. I do not know how old these forms are; none seem to occur in the Secret History (the oldest substantial Mongolian text, mid-XIII), but this may be fortuitous. In the Tungus languages (see J. Benzing, *Die tungusischen Sprache*, Wiesbaden, 1955, p. 105) the suffixes used are **-ta/-te** or **-tal/-tel** but these seem to be merely plural suffixes used in a special sense.

**Collectives.** These too are, in principle, all formed the same way, but there are traces of some uncertainty regarding the V-words. In the case of the C-words the suffix **-ağur/-egür** is attached to the cardinal; in the case of the V-words the suffix seems originally to have been **-ğur/-gür**: similarly attached, but later, in some cases perhaps even in the earliest period, the suffix was **-ağur/-egür**, the final vowel of the cardinal being elided. The collective form is certainly as old as VIII *Türkü*, and, as it exists in the N.E. languages, may be even older, but there do not seem to be any indisputable traces of it in Chuvash. In theory a collective can be formed from any cardinal, but in practice only a limited number can be traced. For example, Abu Ḥayyān in his *Kitābu'l-Idrāk li-lisāni'l-Atrāk*

(published in İstanbul, 1931), a handbook of XIV Kıpçak, in a paragraph on this form (*pp.* 114-5) quotes only the following (some with minor spelling errors in the printed edition): **biregü**., **ikegü**., **üçegü**., **dördegü**.: (*p.* 22, **dördewü**.), **bé:şegü**., **altağü**., **yédegü**., **seksegü**., **toksağü**.: This series too has become obsolete in some modern languages, but not the same as those in which the distributive series has, since the latter survives mainly in the N.W. and S.W. groups, while the former survives mainly in the N.E. and N.C. and not at all in the S.W.

The earliest occurrences of **biregü** "one by itself" seem to be in the *Kutadğü Bilig* (*verses* 343, 1238, *etc.*). By XV, at any rate in Çağatay, the -g- had been elided and the word was pronounced **bire'ü** or **birew**. But even at that time the word was no longer current in Osmanlı, and in the *Abuşka*, a mid-XVI Osmanlı handbook of Çağatay published in V. de Veliaminof-Zernof, *Dictionnaire Djagatai-Turc*, St. Petersburg, 1869, there is an entry (*p.* 32) "aw (or ew?) *bir kimse* 'a person', also used in the phrase *bir aw* (ew?)", with a quotation from Nawā'i. Substantially the same entry occurs in the *Sanglāx* (*fol.* 53 r. 27), which shows that by XVIII the word had also become obsolete in the South Central group of languages. The word survives, in an abbreviated form, in some North-Eastern and North Central languages, but not apparently elsewhere.

The word for "two together" was originally spelt **ikigü** (or **ékigü**?), which is fairly common in Uyğur. It was still spelt **iki:ğü** (or **éki:ğü**?) in *Kaş*. (*I* 45, 3), but in the MSS. of the *Kutadğü Bilig* beside this spelling we find also **ikegü** (*verses* 331, 875, 1463, *etc.*), and **ikegü** (or **ékegü**?) also occurs in some late Uyğur documents. The word still survives in several modern languages, mainly in the North-East and North Central group, none in the South-West, usually in a much distorted form (**ekkü**., **ikü**., **ekö**., **ökö**., **ikew**, *etc.*).

**Üçegü** occurs as early as VIII Türkü (twice in the inscription of Toñukuk), in the *Kutadğü Bilig* (*verse* 802), and, with similar distortions, in much the same modern languages as the preceding word. **Törtégü** occurs in the *Kutadğü Bilig* (*verse* 4502). **Béşegü** is found in Uyğur (see *Analytischer Index* . . . *p.* 15). The earliest known form of "six together" seems to be **altağü** in XIV Kıpçak (see above) and XIV Rabğuzi's *Qışaşı'l-Anbiyā*. There is unfortunately no evidence for an earlier form **altığü**.. The modern forms are **alda**., **alto**., **altu**., and **altaw**. **Yétegü** is recorded in Uyğur

(*Analytischer Index* . . . p. 57), but the text concerned is a late one and this may not be the earliest form.

Brockelmann in his *Osttürkische Grammatik*, Leiden, 1954, *para.* 130c, alleged that the suffix *-la/-le* was also used to form collectives, quoting as examples *birle*, *ikile*, and other words discussed below. There is no doubt that he was wrong. *Birle*: is one of the four "old Turkish postpositions" discussed in K. Grønbech's *Der Türkische Sprachbau*, Kopenhagen, 1935, *p.* 35. His theory was that it was made up of *bir* and "the emphatic postposition *-le*". Be that as it may, the word was originally only a postposition, and its only meaning was "with". *Ikile*: is a different matter. It occurs once in *Kaş.* (III 244, 20) in the proverb *bir tilkü: terisin ikile: soyma:s* "You cannot flay one fox twice", and also at least once in the *Kutadğu Bilig* (he slept a long time and woke in a fright) *yumulmadı yandru ikile közi* (*verse* 5674); Brockelmann took *ikile közi* to be "his two eyes", but the verse obviously means "his eyes did not close again a second time". The most reasonable explanation is that *ikile*: is an abbreviated gerund of the verb *ikiile*: "to do (something) twice", which existed in several Turkish languages and still survives in some.

The later occurrences of *ikile* and the other words quoted by Brockelmann in *para.* 130a are really abbreviated forms of words quoted in *para.* 130c. There was in XIV an outbreak in Turkish languages in the Persian area of collectives formed with the suffixes *-e'üle/-e'ülen* and the like, e.g. *ike'üle/ike'ülen* "two together". These are apparently first recorded in XV Çağatay and survive, in abbreviated form, in some modern languages. In this particular case the modern forms include N.E. *igile*, *ikkele:n*, *ikkölen*; S.E. *ika'olan*, *ikiile*; S.C. *ikkele*, *ékéla*, *ék(k)éle*; N.W. *ekovlan*. These are genuine collectives, but they are not genuine Turkish. The Mongol conquest was followed in XIV, particularly in the area ruled by the Ilkhanids, by a mass Mongolian invasion of the Turkish language. The *Sanglāx* lists a number of Mongolian loan words in Çağatay described as such, and an even larger number not so described. What was borrowed was not only Mongolian noun/adjectives, but also verbs, which were conjugated as if they were Turkish, and even, in some cases, suffixes, with one of which we are concerned here.

The Mongolian collectives were formed by attaching to the cardinals, sometimes abbreviated, the suffixes which were written



in Classical Mongolian as *-ğulan/-gülen* (Poppe, *op. cit.*, p. 55) but actually pronounced *-'ulan/-'ülen*. These are among the oldest elements in Mongolian and several of them occur in the Secret History (see E. Haenisch, *Wörterbuch zu Manghol un Niuca Tobca'an*, Leipzig, 1939, *passim*). *Ike'ülen* is the Turkish word *iki*: with the Mongolian suffix *-'ülen* and all the other similar collectives are so formed. There is no connection between these collectives, which appear in Turkish only after the Mongol invasion, and only in areas in which the influence of the Mongolian language was overwhelming, and the two old words *birle:* and *iki:* which existed long before the conquest and are not collectives.

## NOTES ON AL-KINDĪ'S TREATISE ON DEFINITIONS

BY S. M. STERN

(i) *Extracts from the treatise in a British Museum manuscript.*

AL-KINDĪ'S TREATISE *On the Definitions and Descriptions of Things* (*Fi Hudūd al-Ashyā' wa-Rusūmihā*) has come down to us in the great Istanbul manuscript of his collected writings (Aya Sofiya 4832), and has been published on the basis of that unique manuscript by M. A. Abū Rīdā (*Rasā'il al-Kindī al-Falsafīyya*, vol. i, Cairo, 1950, pp. 163 ff.). In a manuscript of the British Museum which contains a great number of important philosophical texts, Add. 7473 (Cureton's Catalogue, no. 426), written about the year 640/1242, there are some extracts from it. They are preceded (fols. 175r-178r) by al-Kindī's well-known treatise on the astrological calculation of the Islamic empire, published from this very manuscript by O. Loth.<sup>1</sup> The colophon of that text reads as follows: "The treatise is finished, with the praise of God and His help and assistance. I have transcribed it from a copy dated the middle of Rabī' I, 531 [Nov.-Dec., 1136].<sup>2</sup> This colophon is followed by the extracts, which are headed by a note reading as follows: "The following paragraphs were found in the copy which I used as my model, and so I transcribe them."<sup>3</sup> What follows are definitions from al-Kindī's treatise. As it is superfluous to reproduce that part of the extracts which exists also in the Istanbul manuscript, I propose to employ a simplified method of comparison: I give the headings of the British Museum extracts, without adding anything where the British Museum version corresponds exactly to the text of the Istanbul manuscript; but I note all divergences. Readers interested in the details will peruse these pages with the printed edition before them.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "Al-Kindī als Astrolog," *Morgenländische Forschungen* (Festschrift H. L. Fleischer), Leipzig, 1875, pp. 263 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Wa-tammātī'l-risālatu bi-hamdī'Ulāhi wa-'awnihī wa-tawfiqihī naqaltuhū min nuskhatin ta'rikhu tasfīriha'al-nisfu min Rabī'i'l-awwalī sanata ihdā wa-thalāthina wa-khamsmī'a.*

<sup>3</sup> *Wujidat hādhihi'l-fuṣūlu 'alā nuskhati'l-aṣli hā-kadhā fa-naqaltuhā.*

<sup>4</sup> The definitions are not numbered in the edition—I have, for the sake of convenience, provided numbers. Nos. 1-6 are on p. 165, 7-12 on p. 166, 13-25 on

1. The first cause.
  2. Intellect.
  3. Nature.
  4. Soul. As the first half of the definition in the Istanbul MS., but adding after "which receives life" the word "potentially" (*bi'l-quwwa*). The two additional definitions of the Istanbul MS. (introduced with the words: "it is also said") are missing.
  5. Body. Adds after "three dimensions": "length, width, and depth" (*ṭūlun wa-'arḍun wa-'umq*).
  6. Creation from nothing (*ibdā'*). Instead of *izhāru shay'in 'an lays*, it reads: *izhāru shay'in 'an lā shay'*.
  7. Matter. Instead of *al-ṣuwar*, it reads *al-ṣūra*.
  8. Form. The definition belonging to this heading, and the next heading: "element," are left out by an error, so that the definition of "element" appears as that of "form".
  9. Element. See preceding item. The definition itself reads: *ṭīnātu kulli dhī ṭīna*, a better text than that of the Istanbul MS., which has not *dhī*.
  10. Action. The second definition of the Istanbul MS., introduced by "it is also said", is missing.
  11. (Operation. The whole item is missing in the British Museum MS.)
  12. Substance. Instead of *wa-huwa ḥāmīlun li'l-a'rād* it reads: *wa'l-ḥāmīlu li'l-a'rād*. Everything which follows these words in the Istanbul MS. is omitted in the British Museum MS.
- Up to this point the British Museum manuscript runs parallel with the Istanbul text; but the following definitions are arranged in a different order. (The items are numbered according to the Istanbul text.)
21. Imagination. Only the last part of the definition given in the Istanbul MS. recurs in the British Museum MS.: *ḥudūru ṣuwari'l-ashyā'i ma'a ḡhaybatī ṭīnatihā*.
  26. Deliberation. The text reads: *al-īmālatu bayna khawāṭiri'l-nafs*; *khawāṭir* offers a valuable correction for the impossible *jawāḥir* of the Istanbul text, and is also confirmed by the text of al-Tawḥīdī (see p. 32, note 4).

p. 167, 26-33 on p. 168, 34-44 on p. 169, 45-54 on p. 170, 55-67 on p. 171, 68-70 on p. 172 [no. 70 is the long passage on "philosophy", occupying pp. 172-4], 71-2 on p. 174, 73-8 on p. 175, 79-88 on p. 176, 89-90 on p. 177 [no. 90 is another long passage on "the human virtues", pp. 177-9], 91-6 on p. 179.

27. Opinion. Reads *innamā huwa* for *huwa*; *wa'l-ra'yu* 'tiqādu *aḥadi mutanāqidayn* for *wa-yuqālu innaha* 'tiqādu'l-nafsi *aḥada shay'ayni mutanāqidayn*; *al-mumkin* for *yumkin*; *wa'l-ra'yu huwa'l-zann* for *wa-yuqālu innahu* 'tiqād; and omits *idhan*.

28. Compound. Only the second definition occurs in the British Museum MS. Reads *bi'l-jins* and *bi'l-ḥadd* for *fi'l-jins* and *fi'l-ḥadd*.

28a. I give this number to an important definition missing in the Istanbul text. "Universal intellect: it is the specificity of things. There is a universal and a particular one."<sup>1</sup> (*Al-'aqlu'l-kullīyyu huwa naw'iyyatu'l-ashyā'i fa-minhū kullīyyun wa-minhū juz'iyy.*)

14. Quantity.

15. Quality.

16. Related.

17. Movement.

19. Space. Only the first definition.

21. Sense.

25. Object of sense-perception.

23. Sense-perception.

The remaining definitions, all of which concern eschatology, do not occur in the Istanbul MS., so I publish them in full; for greater convenience I introduce a separate numbering.

1. *Al-dunyā: tasarmudu'zdiwāji kulli unthā wa-dhakarīn wa-tamāsuku* < . . . > *mā baqiyati'l-nafsu takinnu ila'l-jasad.*

2. *Al-ākhiratu: nushū'un thānin li'l-nafsi wa-muddatu baqā'ihā ba'da mufāraqati'l-jasad.*

3. *Al-mawtu: mufāraqatu'l-nafsi'si'māla'l-badan.*

4. *Al-ma'ādu: Taḥarwulu'l-nafsi'l-juz'iyyati ila'l-nafsi'l-kullīyyati mā lam tatashabbath bi-shakwati'l-ṭabī'a.*

<sup>1</sup> There are two difficulties in this definition. (1) In a definition of the "universal intellect" the words "there is a universal and a particular one" are obviously absurd. (2) This definition clashes with the other definition of the intellect, no. 2. The first difficulty could be removed by reading "definition of the intellect", instead of "definition of the universal intellect". On the other hand, it is possible that nos. 2 and 28a originally went together, and the definition read approximately as follows: "Definition of the intellect: A simple substance which perceives things through their true essences [no. 2]; there is a universal and a particular one: the universal intellect is the specificity of things" [no. 28a]. The definition "specificity of things", applied to the universal intellect, recurs also in al-Kindi's *On the Intellect* (ed. Abū Ridā, p. 356); see for further information my remarks in A. Altmann and S. M. Stern, *Isaac Israeli*, Oxford, 1958, pp. 37 ff.

5. *Al-qiyāmatu*: 'ntibāhu'l-nufūsi min [nī]mati'l-ghaflati bi-mufāraqati'l-badan.

6. *Al-ba'thu*: qiyāmu'l-nufūsi min qubūri shahawātiha'l-mutashabbithati bihā.

7. *Jahannamu*: 'ālamu'l-ajsād.

8. *Al-hashru*: jam'u'l-nufūsi'l-juz'iyyati ladayn'l-nafsi'l-kullīyyati wa'ttīlā'u'l-'aqli 'alayhā.

9. *Al-ṣirātu*: 'l-ṭarīqu'l-qāṣidu bi'l-nufūsi'l-juz'iyyati ila'l-nafsi'l-kullīyya.

10. *Al-hisābu*: muwāqafatu'l-nafsi'l-juz'iyyati bi-mā kasabathū fi harwāhā li-'ālamī'l-hissi wa-muddati muqāmihā ma'a'l-jasa[d].

11. *Al-thawābu*: mā tajiduhū kullu nafsin khayratin minā'l-rāḥati wa'l-surūri bi'l-'uluwwi wa'l-khaḥfi wa-tasarmudihā bihā wa'l-takhalluṣi minā'l-mutaḍāddāt.

12. *Al-'iqābu*: mā yanālu kulla nafsin sharīratin minā'l-ālamī wa'l-kharṣi wa'l-asafi bi-haythu'l-hubūṭu wa'l-thiqalu wa-ta'āqubu'l-mutaḍāddāti ba'da'l-mufāraqa.

13. *Al-jannatu*: 'ālamu'l-arwāḥi wa-ma'ādinnu'l-ladhdhāt.

*Tammati'l-fuṣūl*

#### TRANSLATION

1. *The world*: the perpetuity of the mating of the male and the female and the holding fast to < . . . > as long as the soul has a longing for the body.

2. *The other world*: a second rising of the soul and the extent of its survival after its separation from the body.

3. *Death*: the ceasing of the soul's use of the body.

4. *Return*<sup>1</sup>: the passage of the particular soul to the universal soul, when it is not enticed by the desire of nature.

5. *Resurrection*: the awakening of souls from the slumber of heedlessness by the separation from the body.

6. *Rising*: the rising up of souls from the desires by which they were enticed.

7. *Hell*: the world of the bodies.

8. *The Assembly*: the gathering of particular souls at the universal soul and the intellect's glance at them.

9. *The Road*: the straight way which leads particular souls to the universal soul.

10. *The Account*: the retribution exacted from particular souls for their actions while they had their passion for the sensible world and stayed with the body.

11. *The Reward*: the rest and joy experienced by all good souls

<sup>1</sup> "Return," as well as "rising", "assembly", "road", "account", belong to the familiar eschatological terminology derived from the Koran.



through their ascent and lightness, their perpetual enjoyment of it, and their escape from the opposites.

12. *The Punishment*: the pain, fear, sorrow, and sadness afflicting evil souls, through their descent, heaviness, and the succession of the contraries after the separation (from the body).

13. *Paradise*: the world of the spirits and the mine of pleasures.

End of the paragraphs.

Obviously this text would be very important for our knowledge of al-Kindi's doctrine—no other eschatological passages by him having been preserved—if it could be with certainty attributed to him. On the face of it, no suspicion attaches to these paragraphs which follow closely on others whose authorship is perfectly established. And it is indisputable that the Istanbul manuscript does not contain the complete text of the treatise. We have seen above (p. 34, no. 28a) a case where a definition, which can be attributed with good grounds to the treatise, is not found in the Istanbul manuscript; below we shall come across other similar cases (see p. 40, p. 41, note 10). An observation, however, can be made which raises serious misgivings.

These eschatological definitions recur in the epistle *On Definitions* in the *Epistles of the Sincere Brethren* (41st epistle, Cairo ed., iii, 370-1):

The *world* is the extent of the co-existence of the soul with the body [cf. 1] until its separation which is called *death*, which is the soul's ceasing to use the body [cf. 3]. The *other world* is a second rising after death; or the survival of the soul after its separation from the body and its existence alone in its world [cf. 2]. *Paradise* is the world of spirits [cf. 13], *hell* the world of bodies [cf. 7]. . . . *Resurrection* is the awakening of souls from the sleep of heedlessness and the slumber of ignorance [cf. 5]. . . . Resurrection (*qiyāma*) is the rising of the soul from its tomb, which is the body in which it had been but from which it now keeps itself apart and recoils [cf. 6]; the *assembly* is the cohesion of particular souls with the universal soul and their union [cf. 8]. . . . The *account* is the retribution given by the universal soul to particular ones for their actions while they had been united with their bodies [cf. 10]; the *road* is the straight way which leads to God [cf. 9].

To be sure, one could remain unshaken in one's belief in the authenticity of the definitions and draw the conclusion that the *Sincere Brethren* derived their definitions from al-Kindi. This would lead to far-reaching conclusions, as the definitions tally perfectly with the whole eschatology of the *Sincere Brethren*, so that one would be justified in claiming for al-Kindi a decisive influence upon the *Brethren* in one of the central points in their doctrine. Nor is

there anything intrinsically impossible or improbable in such an assumption. But one must not forget that the external evidence that these texts belong to al-Kindī's *On Definitions* is rather slight: not one of them recurs in the Istanbul manuscript or in the authors (such as Isaac Israeli or Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī), who—as we shall see in the second part of these notes—copied numerous passages from al-Kindī's treatise. It would be unwise to trust, in a matter of such importance, to the sole authority of a copyist who set down these excerpts at second or third hand. Thus we should opt for the more prudent course and assume that these eschatological definitions are derived from the *Epistles of the Sincere Brethren* and found their way by some accident among definitions taken from al-Kindī.

(ii) *Al-Kindī's definitions in Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī's al-Muqābasāt.*

In the ninety-first chapter of his philosophical miscellany, *al-Muqābasāt* ("Derivations"), Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī gives a large number of definitions (ed. Cairo, 1929, pp. 308 ff.). He points out that they are adopted from earlier authors: "The preceding *muqābasa* [ch. 90] contains various philosophical subjects and discourses, in which my part was simply to reproduce what these masters have said. . . . Because of the preceding discourses about the various problems, I wish to reproduce for your sake some definitions which I have collected in the course of time, some of them from the mouth of scholars, others from the pages of books. All of these I have submitted to a certain reliable person, to whose critical good sense one can safely have recourse"—meaning his master and oracle on philosophical subjects, Abū Sulaymān al-Mantiqī. I take the whole passage as referring to the chapter at the beginning of which it stands, i.e. ch. 91, containing the definitions—though it is not always easy to feel sure about the exact meaning of al-Tawḥīdī's involved sentences. The long reflections which follow definitely refer to the book as a whole, and though the author's words about his aims and difficulties are interesting, they are irrelevant for our particular purpose. At the end, however, al-Tawḥīdī comes back to the chapter itself: "The *muqābasa* which follows the excerpts from al-ʿĀmirī [these excerpts make up the subject-matter of ch. 90] is devoted to definitions I have collected in the course of time; there is manifold profit in laying them out here. If I had time, I would have added explanations and supporting evidence, but since the misfortunes, known to all, and affecting myself, my



plus the comments of Abū Sulaymān).<sup>1</sup> Coming-to-be. Passing away. Contraction. Separation. Falsehood. Good.<sup>2</sup> Evil. Memory. Cleverness. Quick understanding. Opinion.<sup>3</sup> Doubt. Hesitation.<sup>4</sup> Certainty. Knowledge (= 34). Wisdom.<sup>5</sup> Discernment. Decision (= 56).<sup>6</sup> Certainty (first definition = 57,<sup>7</sup> second definition not in al-Kindī; as we had this heading before, we have altogether three definitions). Cognition (= 81). Opinion (= 27<sup>8</sup>; this heading also occurred above). Decidedness.<sup>9</sup> Hesitation (*wahm*).<sup>10</sup> Assumption (*tawahhum*). Perception. Thought.<sup>11</sup> Retention. Sense-perception. Imagination (*takhayyul*). Apprehension. Cognition (this catchword occurred above).<sup>12</sup> Element (= 32).<sup>13</sup> Form (= 8). Space (first definition = 19, second definition<sup>14</sup> not in al-Kindī). Time (= 18).<sup>15</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For المتباينين MS. المسافين, read with al-Kindī المتناقضين. In al-Kindī read <واحد> *Wajza*. In the comments read *al-bārī* 'alā hādihā mā taqūlu fihī (MS.) and *wa-bi'rtifā'i sūratihī'naḥfat kayfiyyatuhū wa-hādihā huwa 'aynu'l-tawhīd* (MS.). The passage thus recovered (the printed text being utter nonsense) is another instance of the idea: we know only the "quoddity" of God, not His quality (see G. Vajda, "La Philosophie et la théologie de Joseph Ibn Ḥaddiq," *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du moyen âge*, 1949, p. 161; Altmann and Stern, *Isaac Israeli*, p. 22). Here the idea is given a special turn: the intellect attests the quoddity (*anniyya*) of God, but as we cannot conceive His form, He has no quality. Further on read *wa-lawlā anna hādihā'l-qadra ka'l-muqtaḍā ma'ama'qtarana bihī* and تحديد for تجديد (MS.). For متحل بضروب the MS. has مجمل لضروب, for الاختصار: الاختصار.

<sup>2</sup> The MS. reads *Al-khayru huwa mā yurādu wa-yu'tharu li-ajli mā yurādu bi'l-isti'ārati li-dhātih*.

<sup>3</sup> So MS.: الرأي—in the printed text التواني.

<sup>4</sup> Read *Yugālu: ma'l-irtiḡāb? Al-jawābu: tajādhubu'l-ray'ayn*.

<sup>5</sup> For القائمة the MS. reads الدائمة; at the end *an yakūna fī dhālika'l-mawḍi'i fa-gaṭṭ*.

<sup>6</sup> Read with the MS. and al-Kindī *thabātu'l-ra'yi 'ala'l-fi'l*. (In the MS. originally *الملة*, corrected into *المعل*.)

<sup>7</sup> Read ثبات with the MS. and al-Kindī.

<sup>8</sup> For التادى read القاضي with the MS. and al-Kindī.

<sup>9</sup> For لمواقبها: بعواقبها and for شدة الثقة read قوة الثقة (MS.).

<sup>10</sup> For تدرى read يدري (MS.).

<sup>11</sup> For الفكر read الذكر (MS.).

<sup>12</sup> Read بالمعقولات; الوسوم for الرسوم; بالوسوم; ولذلك هي; بما يتميز; بالمتحصل (all with the MS.).

<sup>13</sup> Read منه for فيه (the MS. and al-Kindī); for the second منه read either ومنه (MS.) or وفيه (al-Kindī).

<sup>14</sup> For ما ماس من read ما بين (MS.).

<sup>15</sup> Read *(ghayru) thābitati'l-ḥaraka* (al-Kindī)?

Body (= 5). Many.<sup>1</sup> Curve (= 65).<sup>2</sup> Cohesion (= 84).<sup>3</sup> Contact (*ijtimā'*; not in the Istanbul manuscript, but its origin in al-Kindi is borne out by the fact that it is found in Isaac Israeli's *Book of Definitions*, which contains many definitions borrowed from al-Kindi<sup>4</sup>) and separation. Condition. Junction (= 82) and disjunction (= 83). Humidity (first definition = 64,<sup>5</sup> second definition not in al-Kindi). Dryness (first definition = 63,<sup>6</sup> second definition not in al-Kindi). Coldness (= 62).<sup>7</sup> Warmth (= 61). Composed (= 28).<sup>8</sup> Object of sense-perception (= 25).<sup>9</sup> Deliberation (= 26).<sup>10</sup> Action (= 10).<sup>11</sup> Choice (= 13).<sup>12</sup> Act of defining. Profit. Title.<sup>13</sup> Introduction. Logic. Art. Truthfulness.<sup>14</sup> Awakening.<sup>15</sup> Sleep. Life<sup>16</sup> and death. Courage and cowardice. Joy and sadness.<sup>17</sup> Hasty.<sup>18</sup> Rage. Steadfast. Envious. Revengefulness

<sup>1</sup> For الكثرة the MS. reads الكثير.

<sup>2</sup> This definition is missing in the printed text and reads in the MS.: *Yuqālu: ma'l-inthinā' ? Al-jawābu: taqārubi'l-ṭarafayni ilā khalḥu aw ilā quddām.*

<sup>3</sup> For الملازمة read الملازمة (the MS. and al-Kindi).

<sup>4</sup> See Altmann and Stern, *Isaac Israeli*, p. 65.

<sup>5</sup> Read with al-Kindi انحصار for وعسر and غير.

<sup>6</sup> Read with سهولة بذات غيره (the MS. and al-Kindi).

<sup>7</sup> Read with جمع واحدة (the MS. and al-Kindi); in al-Kindi one should probably read <ين> والتفريق.

<sup>8</sup> For الجنس read الجنس (al-Kindi).

<sup>9</sup> This definition is missing in the printed text and reads in the MS.: *Yuqālu: ma'l-mahsūs ? Al-jawābu: huwa'l-mudraku ṣūratuhū ma'a ḥinatih.*

<sup>10</sup> Read for التمثيل: التمثيل (al-Kindi: الامالة); we have seen above (p. 33) that in al-Kindi we have to read خواطر for جواهر—this is also borne out by al-Tawhīdī's text, which has the same word.

<sup>11</sup> Read مؤثر for موضوع (the MS. and al-Kindi); العقل for الفعل (the MS. and al-Kindi); ياتي for قابل (the MS. and al-Kindi); المتحرك for المحرك (al-Kindi).

<sup>12</sup> For رؤية read رؤية.

<sup>13</sup> For النسمة read السمة (the MS.).

<sup>14</sup> Read *murakkabatun min al-haqqi wa'l-khayri yuqṣadu bihimā* (the MS.); for العدل او الحق the MS. has العدل والحق.

<sup>15</sup> Owing to a homoeoteleuton the end of the definition and the beginning of the next is omitted in the printed text. Read: *Yuqālu: ma'l-yaqza? Al-jawābu: hiya'sti'mālu'l-nafsi'l-mantiqiyiyati'l-badana naḥwa'l-khārijāti 'anī'l-badani wa-tasrīfuha'l-hawāssa naḥwa maḥsūsātih. Yuqālu: ma'l-naḥwu? Al-jawābu: tarku'l-nafsi'l-mantiqiyiyati' sti'māla ālāti'l-badana.*

<sup>16</sup> For الحركة read الحركة (the MS.).

<sup>17</sup> For الخوف read الخزن (the MS.).

<sup>18</sup> For الذي يتبع الذي لا يقنع (the MS.).



(= 87).<sup>1</sup> Vindictiveness (= 86). Anger (first definition = 85,<sup>2</sup> second definition not in al-Kindī). Foolhardiness.<sup>3</sup> Self-satisfaction. Contentment (= 89). Shame.<sup>4</sup> Power to act. Desire (= 80).<sup>5</sup> Love (= 78).<sup>6</sup> Appointed time (= 46).<sup>7</sup> Sight. Definition. Description.<sup>8</sup> Property. Man (cf. 94—but the definition is commonplace and the second part is not found in al-Kindī). Necessary (= 33).<sup>9</sup> Possible. Impossible. Absolute statement.<sup>10</sup> Quality (= 15). Quantity (= 14). Truth. Lie.<sup>11</sup> True.<sup>12</sup> Element (= 9).<sup>13</sup> Matter (= 7).<sup>14</sup> Substance (= 12). Soul (first<sup>15</sup> and second definition<sup>16</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For الانتقام والفرصة read الفرصة للانتقام (the MS.; al-Kindī has الفرصة للانتقام).

<sup>2</sup> For لارادة الغيظ read لارادة الانتقام (the MS.; al-Kindī has لارادة الغيظ—for الغيظ we must probably read الانتقام).

<sup>3</sup> This definition is missing in the printed text and reads in the MS.: *Yuqālu: ma'l-kharag? Al-jawābu: huwa'l-igdāmu 'ala'l-shay'i bi-lā rawiyyatin wa-lā ta'ann.*

<sup>4</sup> Read: *yagā'u bihī 'inda man huwa afdalu minhū fī shay'in mā.*

<sup>5</sup> For استرداد read استزادة (al-Kindī). For ما read بما (the MS.).

<sup>6</sup> The definition is rather obscure; al-Tawhīdī has ومتنمة, al-Kindī has ومتنمة and Isaac Israeli, who derived the definition from al-Kindī (see Altmann and Stern, *Isaac Israeli*, p. 66) has *bi-tatmīmi 'illati'l-ijtimā'*. متنمة seems preferable, and in al-Kindī we must perhaps read *wa-mutamimmatu'l-quwwati'llati hiya <'illatu>'jtimā'i'l-ashyā'*; cf. no. 30, which seems to be a duplication of the last words.

<sup>7</sup> For بقاء read نهاية (the MS. and al-Kindī). <sup>8</sup> For عن read من (the MS.).

<sup>9</sup> This definition is missing in the printed text and reads in the MS.: *Yuqālu: ma'l-wājib? Al-jawābu: huwa'lladhī bi'l-fi'li fīmā wuṣifa bihī abadā.* In al-Kindī read for الواحد: الواجب. (From the editor's note it is clear that this is actually the reading of the Istanbul manuscript.) Moreover, from the last word: تارة ("at times", instead of "always") it results that al-Kindī also had the definition of "possible", which has, however, been omitted owing to a homoeoteleuton. Read the whole text: *Al-wājibu huwa'lladhī bi'l-fi'li wa-huwa fīmā wuṣifa bihī <abadā. Al-mumkinu huwa'lladhī bi'l-quwwati tāratan wa-bi'l-fi'li fīmā wuṣifa bihī> tūra.*

<sup>10</sup> This is the correlate of the definition of "relation" in al-Kindī (no. 16): "Relation—that through the establishment of which another thing is established. 'Absolute statement'—through the establishment of which no other thing is established." Thus it is likely that this definition also belongs to al-Kindī.

<sup>11</sup> The words هو ما supplied by the editor of the printed text are not in the MS. and are superfluous; read *Lā muṭābaqatu'l-qawli li-mā 'alayhi'l-amr. Lā-muṭābaqa* is obviously a solecistic new formation imitating Greek usage.

<sup>12</sup> The printed text has هو ما هو ما وافق الموجود وهو ما هو, the MS. هو ما هو به وفق. [mistake for وافق].

<sup>13</sup> For طبيعة (bis) read طينة (the MS. and al-Kindī).

<sup>14</sup> For تحمل read حمل (the MS. and al-Kindī).

<sup>15</sup> For جوهر read الجرم (the MS. and al-Kindī).

<sup>16</sup> In al-Kindī we probably should read, with al-Tawhīdī: جوهر عقل for جوهر عقلي.

= 4, third definition<sup>1</sup> not in al-Kindī). Intellect (= 2,<sup>2</sup> with additional material<sup>3</sup>). Powerful. Doing good. Eternal (= 41). Independent. First cause (first definition = 1, the rest not in al-Kindī).

There follows another set of definitions which have nothing in common with those of al-Kindī.

(iii) *Conclusion: The influence of al-Kindī's treatise.*

We may conclude by tracing the influence of al-Kindī's *On the Definitions and Descriptions of Things*, basing ourselves on the findings of the present notes, as well as on the results of other investigations.

Isaac Israeli, the Jewish Neoplatonic philosopher of the first half of the tenth century, who is heavily indebted to al-Kindī in general, made ample use of his definitions in his own treatise on the subject, the *Book of Definitions*. I have shown this in my commentary on the text: A. Altmann and S. M. Stern, *Isaac Israeli*, chapter i (pp. 3 ff.). Israeli's paragraph on the definitions of philosophy is based on al-Kindī's no. 70, though it is probable that Israeli had before him in addition also some other work of al-Kindī (see *Isaac Israeli*, pp. 27, 31). Also in the definition of the intellect, Israeli no doubt used in addition to the treatise *On Definitions* (cf. above, p. 34) other works of al-Kindī devoted to the problem of the intellect (see *Isaac Israeli*, pp. 37-8). The same can be said of the definition of "creation from nothing", *ibdā'*; see *Isaac Israeli*, p. 68. A great number of miscellaneous definitions are copied by Israeli: those of "absolute knowledge", cognition, opinion (see for these p. 54), deliberation (p. 56), false, truth (see p. 60), absurd (pp. 60-1), estimation (p. 63), contact (p. 65, and see above, p. 40), touch (p. 65), love, passion, and desire (see for these p. 66).

The extensive borrowings from al-Kindī's *On Definitions* made by Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī, which we have detected in these notes, form an impressive counterpart to the procedure of Isaac Israeli half a century before. By comparison the three definitions taken from al-Kindī by al-Khuwārizmī, a contemporary of al-Tawḥīdī,

<sup>1</sup> For بالفعْل read بالعقل (the MS.).

<sup>2</sup> For مدرِك الاشياء read يدرك الاشياء (the MS. and al-Kindī).

<sup>3</sup> Read *ma'nā hadha'l-gawli anna min and in lam yaqsur bihi'l-zamān* (the MS.).

in his glossary of technical terms (*Maḡātib al-'Ulūm*, ed. G. van Vloten), are inconsiderable, but still significant for the influence of al-Kindī's definitions. These are the definitions of "will" and "absurd" (p. 140) and of "time" (pp. 137-8); for the last two definitions cf. *Isaac Israeli*, pp. 60-1, and pp. 74-6 respectively). The Istanbul manuscript also belongs to this period—it is probably of the late tenth century. But afterwards the progress of Islamic philosophy made al-Kindī's definitions out of date, and though we still find scribes in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries who find it worth their while to copy extracts from them (see the first section of the present notes), they had had their day. The editor of *On Definitions* often quotes in his notes al-Jurjānī's *Ta'rīfāt*, the standard collection of definitions in the late period (dating from the fourteenth century)—but this should not lead the reader to think that al-Jurjānī reproduced these definitions of al-Kindī. To my knowledge the only instance where a definition of al-Jurjānī corresponds to one by al-Kindī is the definition of "eternal" (*azalī*; no. 41). Just as al-Kindī's philosophy in general gave way to those of al-Fārābī and Ibn Sīnā, so his definitions fell into oblivion. (Ibn Sīnā himself wrote a treatise on definitions, which superseded that by al-Kindī.) But up to the end of the tenth century, i.e. during what may be called the Neoplatonic period of Islamic philosophy, al-Kindī's definitions were widely used—and this is the main conclusion which emerges from the present investigations.

## SOME ASPECTS OF THE HISTORY OF MODERN HINDI *NAHĪN* "NO", "NOT"

By L. A. SCHWARZSCHILD

IN AN EXAMINATION of word-phrases A. Meillet<sup>1</sup> stated long ago : "Des mots comme *oui*, *non* représentent le plus haut degré d'abstraction que puisse atteindre ainsi une réponse consistant en un seul mot." As has been repeatedly pointed out, the classical Indo-European languages did not have any exact equivalent of this abstract method of expression. The majority of the modern languages on the other hand have arrived at these convenient "special expletive interjections".<sup>2</sup> Hindi *nahīn*, like the cognate Marathi *nāhī*, Gujarati *nahī(m)*, etc. typifies this development of most modern Indo-European languages both syntactically and formally : it is used as an equivalent of "no" (though it may serve also as negative adverb), and it represents an enlargement of the old Indo-European negative particle, Sanskrit *na*. This formal and syntactic transformation of Sanskrit *na* into modern *nahīn* has been variously explained. The standard theories involve the addition to the negative particle of some part of a substantive verb, a development by no means isolated in the Indo-European languages.<sup>3</sup> They may be summarized as follows :—

I. Theories in which parts of the verb *as-* "to be" are added.

(a) Kellogg<sup>4</sup> stated : "The common negative *nahīn*, Braj *nāhī* has arisen from the combination of the negative *na* with the 3rd singular *āhi* of the substantive verb.

(b) S. K. Chatterji<sup>5</sup> thinks that *\*asati* based on Sanskrit *asti* may have been added to *na*.

(c) Dwijendranath Basu<sup>6</sup> believes that only a derivation from

<sup>1</sup> A. Meillet, *Linguistique historique et linguistique générale*, ii, p. 4, Paris, 1938.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Bloomfield, *Language*, p. 177, and for the great variety in the expression of the negative cf. E. Otto, *Stand und Aufgaben der allgemeinen Sprachwissenschaft*, p. 18 and p. 24.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. H. Hirt, *Indogermanische Grammatik*, vii, *Syntax*, pp. 72 ff.

<sup>4</sup> S. H. Kellogg, *A Grammar of the Hindi Language*, 3rd ed., London, 1938, p. 281.

<sup>5</sup> S. K. Chatterji, *Origin and Development of the Bengali Language*, Calcutta, 1926, p. 1039.

<sup>6</sup> Dwijendranath Basu, "On the Negative Auxiliary in Bengali," *Indian Linguistics*, vol. xv, 1955.

*na* + *āsīt* can account for the Bengali forms. Similar explanations were given also by Sen<sup>1</sup> and others.

II. Theories in which parts of the verb *bhū-* "to be" are added.

(a) L. P. Tessitori<sup>2</sup> suggests that the origin of the Old Western Rajasthani forms was from *na* + *hvi* and *hviṃ* < Pkt *huvai*, *hoi* < Skt *bhavati*.

(b) J. Bloch<sup>3</sup> makes the tentative suggestion that Marathi *nāhim*, which is also found in Apabhraṃśa as *nāhim*, comes from *na* with the addition of Prakrit *dhavai* < Skt *dbhavati*, cf. Marathi *dhnem* "to be".

(c) R. L. Turner<sup>4</sup> quotes Bloch's suggestion and he further emphasizes the possibility of contamination with the descendants of Sanskrit *nahī*, more than the preceding writers did. He is followed in this particularly by M. C. Modi.<sup>5</sup>

An examination of the evidence of some of the Middle Indo-Aryan texts points in the direction envisaged by Professor Turner.

In the *Ardha-Māgadhī* of the Jain canon, as also in Pali, the general structure of negations and affirmations is still very much as in the older Indo-European languages. Answers to questions are usually in the form of a whole phrase, in most cases containing a fixed locution, e.g. *Uvāsagadasāo* (edition Vaidya), p. 57, v. 219, where the lay disciple *Saddālaputta* says to the heretic *Gosala Mankhaliputta*: *pabhū naṃ tubbhe mama dhammāyariṇa dham-movaesaṇa bhagavayā Mahāvīreṇa saddhim vivādam karettā*? "Are you capable of engaging in a debate with the Venerable Mahāvīra, my instructor and teacher of the Law?" *No inatthe samatthe*, said *Gosala Mankhaliputta*, "this matter is not possible." Positive answers, especially those following on a command, are often expressed by the simple word *tahā* < Sanskrit *tathā* "thus", "even so", but on the whole affirmations too tend to be complete sentences, e.g. *Uvāsagadasāo*, p. 45, v. 173 (edition Vaidya): *se nūnaṃ Kūṇḍalakoliyā atthe samatthe*? "Now is this matter possible, Kūṇḍalakoliyā?" *Hantā atthi*. "Indeed it is."

In spite of this conservatism in syntax there have been important

<sup>1</sup> Sukumar Sen, "Index Verborum of Old Bengali Carya Songs and Fragments," *Indian Linguistics*, ix, 1946-8.

<sup>2</sup> L. P. Tessitori, "Notes on the Grammar of the Old Western Rajasthani," *I.A.*, 1914-16, paragraph 103.

<sup>3</sup> J. Bloch, *Histoire de la Langue Marathe*, Paris, 1918, p. 292.

<sup>4</sup> R. L. Turner, *Nepali Dictionary*, London, 1931, p. 337b.

<sup>5</sup> M. C. Modi in the glossary of the *Gurjararāsāvali*, Baroda, 1956, p. 235.



changes in the form of the negative particle. There appears in the canon a series of enlargements of the negative particle for emphasis and distinctiveness. Some of these enlargements date back to Sanskrit and differ from their Sanskrit prototypes mainly by their frequency. In the very oldest parts of the canon such as the *Āyāraṅgasutta* *na* is still the most frequent type of negation, sometimes even ousting *mā* with prohibitions, but elsewhere in the canon *no* < *no* < *na* + *u* has become the most usual negative particle. This may be partially due to the desire to make a clear distinction from the practically meaningless particle *naṃ* < *nanu*,<sup>1</sup> which is found so very frequently in the canon. The negative *no* was less favoured in the later Prakrit dialects, perhaps on account of its identity with *no* < Sanskrit *nas* = *us* (Ardhamāgadhi *ne*). Again mainly in the older sections of the canon one finds *neva* < Sanskrit *naiva*, used much as in Sanskrit, e.g. *Āyāraṅgasutta* i, l. 3. This form seems to grow rarer in the later parts of the canon but recurs in Jain Śaurasēṇī, also in classical Māhārāṣṭrī as *nea* (Setubandha, Gaudavaho).<sup>2</sup>

Other usual reinforced forms of the negative are Sanskrit *nahi* > Prakrit *nahi*, Sanskrit *na* + *api* > Prakrit *navi*, and *na* + *khalu* > *nakhu*. In later dialects, such as dramatic Śaurasēṇī and the Māhārāṣṭrī of the lyrics (e.g. Vajjālaggam) *nakhu* has been weakened further to *nahu* and it survives into Apabhraṃśa and even in the early vernacular texts of W. India, e.g. the Gurjararāsāvalī. *Navi* < *na* + *api* retains a good deal of emphasis in the canon, e.g. Paṇhāvāgaraṇāim : *na datthum na kaheum navi sumarium* "not to see, to speak of or even to remember". This particle too has survived into Apabhraṃśa (Bhavisattakahā, etc.), and is found as late as the Gurjararāsāvalī, Vasantavilāsa Phāgu, etc. *Na* + *asti* > *natthi* is frequent in Ardha-Māgadhi as in Pali and it has clearly lost its association with the 3rd person singular and has become stereotyped, as is shown by its use with plurals, e.g. Vivāgasuya, story of Mṛgaputra : *natthi tassa dāragassa hatthā vā pāyā vā kannā vā acchī vā nāsā vā . . .* "the boy had no hands or feet or ears or eyes or nose". *Natthi* in such cases is scarcely more than just a reinforced form of the negative particle. Its survival into Apabhraṃśa and as the modern Gujarati *nathī* is well known.

<sup>1</sup> A less widely accepted alternative etymology *nānam* is given by R. Pischel, *Grammatik der Prakritsprachen*.

<sup>2</sup> Quoted by the Paṇāsaddamahāpavā s.v.

Apart from these combinations of the negative particle inherited directly from Sanskrit there are also in the Jain canon new negative particles where purely Prakritic elements make up the reinforcement. There is, for instance, the form *nāim*. This occurs in a fixed locution where an offender asks for forgiveness, ending with the words *nāim bhujjo karanayāe* "and I will not do it again" (e.g. *Uvāsagadasāo* ii, 113 ed. Vaidya). *Nāim* has been explained by Dr. Vaidya in his note on the passage in question. He compares it with *pundim* which is found in *Ardha-Māgadhi* for *puna* < *punar* "again". This extension seems to have started among the pronominal adverbs of time such as Sanskrit *kadācit* "sometimes" > Prakrit *kayāim*. The close association between *na* and *punar* in particular can be seen from such Prakrit forms as *nauna* < *na punar* and *naunāim* < *na punar* "never again", and in fact that may well be the meaning of the extended form *nāim* in the passage from the *Uvāsagadasāo* "never again", rather than "not again".

In one passage of the canon there occurs yet a further enlargement of the negative probably based on this form, namely *nāhi*: *nāhi te mamāhinto suham atthi* "you will have no joy from me", a phrase repeated by the enraged heretic Gosala Mankhaliputta (*Bhagavatīsūtra* xv, 1). This form almost certainly represents a contamination of *nahi* < Sanskrit *nahi* with *nāim*. Any influence of the verbs "to be"  $\sqrt{bhū}$  or  $\sqrt{as}$  at this early date is unthinkable as there was no form of either of these verbs that resembled a type *\*āhi* which could coalesce with *na* to form *nāhi* in *Ardha-Māgadhi*. A change of *s* to *h*, such as is encountered in the development of the endings of the future is possible in a terminational element,<sup>1</sup> but would be highly improbable in what is after all an emphatic negative form. This makes a derivation *nāhi* < *nāsīt* wellnigh impossible. *Bhavai*  $\sqrt{bhū}$  is obviously phonologically just as unlikely to provide the enlargement *\*āhi* at this date.

In the later literary Prakrits the most noticeable innovation is in the syntactic use of the negation and of *nahi* < Sanskrit *nahi* in particular. This word is used, nearly always repeated, as an interjection "no". The repetition seems to be a rhythmic necessity: a feeling was still there that an emphatic and direct negation should be expressed by a whole phrase; one single short word was not enough. This is characteristic of dramatic Śauraseni and especially

<sup>1</sup> Cf. R. L. Turner, "The phonetic weakness of terminational elements in Indo-Aryan," *JRAS.*, 1927.

frequent in the works of Bhâsa, e.g. Svapnavâsavadatta Act II, where a maid asks: *Bhattidârie, jâdi so rââ virâvo bhavê . . .* "Princess, if the king were to be ugly . . ." *Nahi nahi* answers Vâsavadattâ, *daṃsaṇiô evva*. "No, he is handsome." In some of the slightly later dramas one occasionally comes across cases where *nahi* without repetition conveys the meaning of "no", e.g. Mâlavikâgnimitra Act III, Mâlavikâ: *Kim appano chandena mantesi?* "Do you say this of your own accord?" Maid: *Nahi, bhattiño edâim . . . akkharâim*. "No, these are the words of my master." Even here there is a variant reading with repetition of *nahi*.

But as regards form the post-canonical Prakrit dialects do not appear to have either of the unusual reinforced negatives found in the canon, *nâim* and *nâhi*, though *nâim* is permitted for Prakrit by Hemacandra's Grammar (II.190). In II.191 Hemacandra even gives *mâim*, which must be derived from *mâ* "not" used with injunctions, while the final syllable is due to the influence of *nâim*; the word *mâim* is not to be found in any texts. The Ardha-Mâgadhî negatives *nâim* and *nâhi* are absent even from a popular Jaina-Mâhârâṣṭrî text like the Vasudevahiṇḍî, where apart from all the ordinary enlarged forms of the negative we find only *nai* < Sanskrit *na cid*. *Nâim* and *nâhi* recur in Apabhraṃśa: they are found in the texts of the Digambaras and Śvetâmbaras alike. The resemblance between the Jain canon and Apabhraṃśa as regards negation is more than a coincidence. *Nâim* and *nâhi* used in the particularly emphatic passages quoted from the canon, presumably belonged to the popular language and survived as emphatic negatives in those parts of India where the literary Apabhraṃśas were formed. They were then spread far afield by the literary Apabhraṃśas, as is shown by the wide distribution of the derivatives of Apabhraṃśa *nâhi*.

Unlike *nâhi*, Apabhraṃśa *nâim* seems to have left few direct descendants (possibly Bengali *nay* may be counted as one of them). This was due to the fact that Apabhraṃśa *nâim* was less distinct as a negative, being identical with Apabhraṃśa *nâim* (cf. also Apabhraṃśa *nam*, *naim*, *nâvai*), which had the meaning of "like", "as if", and was clearly the ancestor of modern Hindi *nâim*. The confusion between *nâim* 'not' and *nâim*<sup>1</sup> "like" in Apabhraṃśa

<sup>1</sup> Separate etymologies are usually given for the comparative particles *nâim*, *nâvai*, and *nam*, but because of their similarity and simultaneous appearance they are probably connected with each other. *Nâim* is derived from *nyâyena* "in such a manner" by Bloch, *Langue Marathe*, p. 205; *nâvai* from *jñâyate*

affected the other negative particles, so that one finds *nau* "not" < *na tu* given by Hemacandra as an equivalent of "like", while on the other hand *nam* "like" appears with the meaning of "not" in the Sandeśarāsaka. The most curious result of this confusion is found in the works of Hemacandra (Grammar IV 444 and 401, v. 3, and Kumārapālacarita VIII, 81). Here two particles *jani* and *janu* appear in the sense of "like" (*janu* also occurs in the Paumacariu of Svayambhū). It is difficult to dissociate these forms from Eastern Hindi *jani*, *jin* "not" which are explained by S. K. Chatterji<sup>1</sup> from *yat* + *na*. But *nāhi* "not" seems to have been too distinctive a form to be affected by this confusion.

Some further features of negation in Middle Indo-Aryan have a bearing on the history of Hindi *nahin*. There is a negative particle *nā* in the Māhārāṣṭrī of the Gaudavaho, and the Apabhraṃśa *nāhi* can sometimes be analysed as *nā* + *hi* (e.g. Pāhuḍadohā v. 94). This form could well originate from *na ca* > Prakrit *na ya* "and not", "nor", a very frequent combination already in Sanskrit and especially so in Middle Indo-Aryan. It would thus form a parallel to Apabhraṃśa *nau* "not" < *na tu* "but not". *Na ya* appears in exactly the same combinations as the simple *na*, and scarcely differs from it in meaning in the Jain canon, e.g. *na yāvi* appears in the sense of "not even". The Vasudevahiṇḍī has *ya na ya* (p. 202, l. 24, Bhavnagar edition), where the *ya* had to be repeated to express the meaning of "and", as the combination *na ya* had become equivalent to a simple *na*. Phonetically *na* and the enclitic *ya* < *ca* formed one word, and so the *ya-śruti* was often omitted in writing, as for instance in *na a* in the Śauraseni of the Mālatīmādhava p. 400 (Trivandrum edition). Over a large area of Northern India one would expect the further contraction of *na a*,

"it is known" by Bhayani, *Paumacariu*, Glossary s.v. *najjai*; *nam* from Vedic *na* "like" by Alsdorf, *Harivamśapurāna*, Glossary s.v. *nam*. The alternative explanation of *nam* from *nanu* "indeed" is more convincing, as there are numerous instances where *nam* could easily be interpreted as meaning either "like", "as if" or "indeed" and often in editions of Apabhraṃśa texts the English translation and the Sanskrit commentary are at variance over this. The change of meaning from the averative *nanu* > *nam* to a comparative is late and does not feature in Prakrit except in a reconstructed line of the Līlavāṅkahā, v. 1308. This late appearance renders a direct connection of *nam* with the Vedic *na* "like" improbable, but there is a possibility that Apabhraṃśa speakers used similar methods of expression to those that brought about the comparative meaning of Vedic *na* "not" (cf. Macdonell, *Vedic Grammar for Students*, paragraph 180), and that the comparative particles are in fact derived from the negative.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Baburam Saksena, *The Evolution of Avadhi*, Allahabad, 1937, p. 309.

*ṇaya* to *ṇā* by the Apabhramśa period, although details of this phonetic change are still uncertain.<sup>1</sup> The appearance of this form *ṇā* < *na ca* gave new vitality to the popular emphatic negative *ṇāhi*. *ṇā* itself left a number of derivatives in the modern vernaculars, it is found for instance in Kashmiri and Lahnda and in modern Eastern Hindi as well as in earlier texts from that region (e.g. the works of Jāyasī and Tulsīdās).

The later phonetic development of the Apabhramśa negative *ṇāhi(m)* does not present many problems. The lengthening of the final syllable that characterizes the Hindi derivative is probably based on the influence of the frequent final *-hīn* of adverbs such as *kahīn*. The correspondence of the final of these locative adverbs with the final of the negation in some of the other modern Indo-Aryan languages lends support to this view : Gujarati has *tahi* and *nahi(m)*, while Old Gujarati has variants such as *kahīa(m)* for the locative adverb and *nahīa(m)* for the negative ; Nepali has *kahi* and *nahi*, etc. The syntactic advance shown by the Prakrit of the dramas in the use of *ṇahi* < Sanskrit *nahi* as the "abstract" negative interjection "no" was naturally continued by the more popular *ṇāhi*, and this gave rise to modern usage.

<sup>1</sup> For the contraction of the final *-aya* of masculine nouns cf. L. Alsdorf, *Apabhramśa Studien*, Hamburg, 1937.



## REVIEWS OF BOOKS

### Far East

INTRODUCTION TO THE ARTS OF JAPAN. By (PETER) C. SWANN.  
pp. xi + 220. 168 illustrations. Bruno Cassirer, Oxford (Publishers), Ltd., 1958.

This is not a book for the specialist, its aim being to reach the ordinary intelligent person, interested but ignorant of the whole Oriental background and not only of the art. So the author has rightly elected to simplify to a degree that is intolerable to the expert. This is especially obvious in the exposition of Buddhism and the outline of history. The analysis and comparison of styles in the different periods are clear, and the presentation of the complex material, which as the author frankly states omits more than it includes, is pleasantly stimulating. Among the omissions are architecture and gardens; this may be regarded by some people as unwarrantable, but for the purpose Mr. Swann had in mind it was wise in view of the great range of architecture in period and quality, and its intimate relationship with gardens. The bibliography is useful only for the beginner; the large number of rather unfortunate misprints detracts somewhat from what is basically a most useful book, and the quality of some of the illustrations is pitiful, notably that of the Tōhaku screen painting in fig. 113 in which all subtlety is lost. In spite of these shortcomings, the work is to be recommended for the purpose for which it was intended and Mr. Swann is to be congratulated on his achievement.

MARGARET MEDLEY.

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### Near and Middle East

LE PARLER ARABE DE DJIDJELLI. By PH. MARÇAIS, pp. xxviii + 648.  
Adrien-Maisonneuve, Paris.

This book is divided in the traditional way between "Phonétique" and "Morphologie" in the ratio of 1:4, and is concerned with the spoken Arabic of Eastern Kabylia.

It would be presumptuous to review in a short space any book of this length, especially when it is also a work of meticulous observation and scholarship. But one may permit oneself two general comments, the first of general linguistic relevance, the second relating to Hamito-Semitic studies in particular.

It is not always fully realized, in England at any rate, that the translation of phonetic description from, say, French into English and vice versa is a delicate matter. Faced with the difficult problem of describing the continually changing shape of the supra-glottal resonance-chambers in the process of speaking, French and British linguists

envisage the mechanism of utterance in such different ways that no clear one-to-one correspondence is evident between the systems of descriptive terms employed. It is only after some study that one is able, for example, to translate *une (spirante) vélaire profonde* as "a uvular", but should *spirante* be "fricative" or "frictionless continuant"? How does one translate, say, *postpalatale* in a system which includes also *prépalatale*, *palatale*, *vélaire*, and perhaps also *uvulaire*?

The second point, which is of particular relevance to Arabic and Berber studies, is summed up in the "Berber" article of the forthcoming latest edition of the *Encyclopædia of Islam*, where it is stated that "an urgent problem is to determine precisely in what respects Berber and Maghribi Arabic have affected one another"; L. Brunot, G. S. Colin, Ch. Pellat, and William Marçais have all given a place in their work to Berber matters; it is no small merit of Philippe Marçais' work, too, that in it attention is paid to the difficult subject of Arabic-Berber relationship.

A map would have been a welcome addition.

T. F. MITCHELL.

MÉMORIAL ANDRÉ BASSET. pp. 159. Adrien-Maisonneuve, Paris, 1957.

This collection of fifteen articles in memory of the well-loved and respected founder of Berber linguistics would surely have met with his approval, not only, perhaps not always, for the detail of their content but certainly for the fact that contributors include, in addition to Berber scholars as such, distinguished Arabists and those whose interests range more widely. It is a further tribute to him that five languages (French, Spanish, Italian, German, and English) are used in the volume, for he succeeded most notably in stimulating outside France a lively interest in Berber studies.

The topics covered range from Berber words in Maltese to the general characteristics of the Berber dialect of the Moroccan Rif: with one exception, they show a unifying theme of interest in Berber language and literature, and include grammar, phonology, lexicography, comparative and historical aspects, and etymology; the exception is of anthropological rather than linguistic scope and, as a result, is somewhat out of keeping with the rest of the volume but by no means lacking in interest. The form of amendment to a printer's error in the Foreword reveals that funds for the enterprise, provided by the Tunisian and Algerian Governments of the time and by the Institut des Hautes Etudes Marocaines, were limited; for this reason, too, no doubt, contributions are inevitably, though unfortunately, short. Given the difficulties, financial and polyglottic, with which they were faced, the editors have done an admirable job of presentation.

T. F. MITCHELL.

MODERN LITERARY ARABIC. By DAVID COWAN. pp. xi + 205. Cambridge University Press, 1958. 35s. net.

The title of the book is refreshing because many Arabic grammars seem to ignore anything written since the Middle Ages. But the student must not expect any startling innovations. The basic grammar has not altered since Koranic times. This book deals with the Arabic of modern newspapers, magazines, public speakers, and radio, and the sentences used as examples show a longer and more complicated construction than the antithetical, often elliptic style of the ancient writers. We find adjectives of the form fa'lanu and abstract nouns of the form noun + iyatun now in frequent use, and a slight difference in the rules of reported speech; but the modern note appears chiefly in the style, and of course in the vocabulary.

The Arabic letter 'ain is used in the transliteration to avoid confusion with the glottal stop, and a special sign has been devised to indicate the elision of the vowel of hamzat-al-waṣl. When the vowel is different from what the student might expect, the syllable is underlined to rivet his attention. It seems rather carping to mention two misprints. On page 16 in the transliteration—mashuratun for mashhuraturun, and on page 174—in the fourth example some of the vowels and diacritical marks have been shifted one space to the right.

Below the heading "Subordinate Clauses (p. 94) under 'an, that" we read "If a subordinate clause after 'an is a factual statement . . . it is . . . introduced by 'anna". This is puzzling. Would it not be simpler to say that the conjunction "that" is rendered in such and such cases by 'an and in such and such other cases by 'anna? Again, having been told the rule that lam with the jussive denies the perfect we find (p. 198) this construction rendered first by the present and then by the future. Is not the student entitled to some explanation here?

An interesting feature is an appendix where the principal phonetic changes occurring in verbs and nouns with weak radicals are set out in an easily remembered way.

The student who works conscientiously through this book will certainly, as the author claims, have laid the foundation for a mastery of Arabic. But, he wisely warns us, much hard work will still lie ahead.

M. C. HAY.

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KURDS, TURKS, AND ARABS. POLITICS, TRAVEL, AND RESEARCH IN NORTH-EASTERN IRAQ, 1919-1925. By C. J. EDMONDS. pp. viii + 457, pl. 16, 3 maps. Oxford University Press, London, 1957.

This book is important for geographers, philologists, anthropologists, historians, and orientalists alike, and it is informed by unrivalled knowledge of South Kurdistan. It includes much topography; the

names applied to different parts of the same rivers and ranges are defined with valuable precision. Specimens of Kurdish poetry are transcribed and translated. Kurdish clothing and houses are described and the relevant Kurdish vocabulary is cited. A great deal of local history, genealogy, and tribal lore is given. The account of the Kākā'is is of special interest, for it supplements and in a few respects modifies Professor Minorsky's article on the Ahl-i-Ḥaqq in the *Encyclopædia of Islam*. The frequent, puzzling changes in the names and boundaries of the administrative units of the area are recorded. There are amusing descriptions of the operations against Shaikh Maḥmūd and of the activities of the Mosul Commission. Modern Arab nationalists may be surprised that in 1924 Mr. Edmonds should have insisted to the Belgian member of that body that "the awakening of the East was a very real thing that could not be ignored, and colonization on Congo lines was now quite out of the question in Asia" (p. 415). A pleasing feature of the book far less common than it should be in works of this kind, is the generous recognition accorded to the achievements of earlier travellers. The plates are excellent, the maps mark all the names they should, the proofs have been read with care, and the volume is pleasantly produced. It is, however, concerned with only six of the author's many years of distinguished service in Iraq. It is very much to be hoped that he will not leave the others unrecorded.

C. F. BECKINGHAM.

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THE CHESTER BEATTY LIBRARY. A CATALOGUE OF THE TURKISH MANUSCRIPTS AND MINIATURES. By V. MINORSKY, with an Introduction by the late J. V. S. WILKINSON. pp. xxxvi + 145, 43 plates (3 coloured). Dublin, Hodges Figgis and Co., Ltd., 1958. £12 12s.

Sir Alfred Chester Beatty is the only surviving great collector of Oriental manuscripts in the West, and probably the last one, for it is hardly conceivable that many more treasures of the kind which he owns will now be found in private hands, or, if found, could be bought for export. Turcologists should be particularly grateful to him, not only for including Turkish MSS. in his wide range of interests, but also for publishing this sumptuous catalogue. It is well known that Turkish scribes were superb calligraphers, but, as Sir Alfred points out, much less is known of their skill as illuminators; the magnificent plates in this volume, therefore, meet a long felt want, and their value is enhanced by Mr. Wilkinson's expository introduction. The selection of Prof. Minorsky as the cataloguer is a sufficient guarantee of the quality of the work. The range of the collection is a wide one; naturally many of the ninety-three MSS. are fine copies of well-known works, but there is a high proportion of uniques and copies of very rare ones. The overwhelming bulk of the collection is Osmanli; but there are three Persian and

two Arabic MSS. copied in Turkey; three are Çagatay (two works of Mir 'Ali Şir Navā'i and the *Mazzamū'l-Asrār* of Mir Haydar); one, the *Divān* of Fuḍūlī, is in Azeri (perhaps, since it is a seventeenth century MS., to some extent "normalized" by an Osmanli scribe); one, the *Divān* of Hidāyat (one of only two known copies) is in an interesting fifteenth century Türkmen (Ak-koyunlu) dialect; and the unique (?) *Kitābu'l-'Arūḍ*, written by 'Abdullah Munşī at the Mamluk court in Egypt in A.D. 1445, is probably in a similar dialect. Of the rare or unique Osmanli MSS. the following may be mentioned: (1) a pre-A.D. 1450 *Takvīm* (Almanac), one of a class of works whose importance in the evolution of Turkish historiography is being increasingly recognized; (2) the very rare Life of Muḥammad by Darīr, a magnificently illuminated sixteenth century copy of a fourteenth century text, unfortunately an unvocalized copy of a vocalized original and so sometimes hard to decipher; (3) the *Divān* of Bihişti; (4) several early *vakfname's*.

The price of the book is almost prohibitive for most private students but even at twelve guineas it may well be sold at a loss.

GERARD CLAUSEN.

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EINFÜHRUNG IN DIE GEORGISCHE SPRACHE. By K. TSCHENKÉLI. Amirani Verlag, Zurich, 1958. Vol. 1, lxiv + 628. Vol. 2, x + 614. 70 Swiss fr.

Apart from a few antiquated, and for the most part slight publications, hitherto the only introductions to Georgian in a Western language have been Marr-Brière's *Langue géorgienne*, with its heavy emphasis on medieval and literary forms and quite unmanageable diffuseness, and Vogt's *Esquisse d'une grammaire du géorgien moderne*, which, valuable as it is, may be considered a monograph for philologists rather than a students' manual, and furthermore is concerned only with the contemporary idiom.

The scope of the present work is altogether wider than that of any of its predecessors, and it might be claimed for it that it is the first in its field to be designed on the lines of a practical textbook. Phonetics, morphology, grammar, etc., comprise the first volume with primary reference to the current language but due regard for older literary forms. The second volume consists of exercises, vocabularies, and a chrestomathy, drawn for the most part from the literature of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

The grammatical complexity of Georgian is such that any formal approach seems perforce to subject the beginner to a whole series of painfully analytic treatises on the divers possibilities of its syntactical functioning before inviting him to stand back to contemplate with



understanding the overall structure of even a simple sentence. As, until he has acquired such an understanding, he will necessarily lack any adequate context of knowledge to which to refer the matter of the analytic expositions, he may perhaps be excused the recurrence of a sense of hopelessness and the doubt whether he would not do better to follow the distinguished precedent set by Brosset and Marjory Wardrop and begin his studies with a bold onslaught on the Georgian Bible. To warn the neophyte that he is unlikely to succeed in sifting out from the 600-odd pages of the first volume of this monumental work the empirical essentials and to advise him, if he has even the most limited knowledge of Russian, to cut his teeth on Rudenko's concise *Grammatika gruzinskogo yazyka*, is to pass no adverse judgment on its value as a comprehensive treatise. Once the student has got past the elementary stage he should be able to consult it with ever-increasing profit.

These volumes are most handsomely produced, and the layout—the author did his own type-setting—is excellent; the use of heavy type most effectively distinguishing whichever of the all-important prefixes, infixes, or suffixes is relevant to the discussion. The devotion that has gone to this immense undertaking is beyond praise.

R. H. STEVENSON.

LE PALAIS ROYAL D'UGARIT, II (Mission de Ras Shamra, Tome VII : Textes en cunéiformes Alphabétiques des Archives Est, Ouest et Centrales). By CHARLES VIROLLEAUD. pp. xliii + 241, pl. 26. Imprimerie Nationale and C. Klincksieck, Paris, 1957.

This beautifully produced volume continues the series of reports on the Royal Palace of Ras Shamra, ancient Ugarit, and its archives. Already produced are those volumes dealing with the Accadian and Hurrian documents from the East, West, and Central archives (PRU III), and the Accadian texts from the South archives (PRU IV). Claude Shaeffer prefaces this volume with a detailed *exposé préliminaire* and there are twenty-six excellent plates mostly of the tablets under discussion.

The texts include most of the alphabetical texts found during the expeditions of 1951-53, and a few found in earlier excavations, with two alphabet tablets discovered only in 1955. In this volume, M. Virolleaud has grouped the texts according to their content, but there is a useful classification by archives on pp. xlii-xliii. The volume is fully and carefully indexed, with a glossary and name lists on pp. 205-228.

The texts here recorded are nearly all of a secular nature: royal decrees, administrative documents, letters and the like which promise to add considerably to our knowledge of Ugaritic society during the two centuries or so preceding its collapse in the twelfth pre-Christian century.

For the Semitic philologist these non-liturgical texts have a special interest, since, as we should have expected from other ancient cultures, notably Hebrew and Greek, the later secular prose of Ugarit differed markedly from the "archaic" mixed literary dialect employed for religious liturgy. A good example is Virolleaud's text No. 12 (Inventory No. 16.402, Plate IX), the longest piece of prose Ras Shamra has yet produced. It displays peculiarities in vocabulary and grammatical form and syntax which are of the greatest interest, and which, failing the rigid parallelism and metre of poetry, often present special difficulties in interpretation.

This latest addition to the library of Ugaritica reflects the highest credit on its author and editor, and on the press concerned.

JOHN ALLEGRO.

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THE LIVING SOUL; A STUDY OF THE MEANING OF THE WORD *NĀFĀŠ* IN THE OLD TESTAMENT HEBREW LANGUAGE. By A. MURTONEN. (Studia orientalia edidit Societas Orientalis Fennica XXIII.i.) pp. 105. Helsinki, 1958.

The author's method is to classify the various uses of N., discuss typical examples with border-line cases, and then to ask what was the idea lying behind them all. Beginning with vital principle the meaning passes through life, individual, the subject of action or passion, and some special aspect of activity like desire. The meaning "fish" is now seen to be an error of the English AV. Of course, much of this has been said before. An animal is often called a "living N." but only once is this term applied to a man; "N. of a dead (man)" occurs but "dead N." never. The author tends to treat the OT as if it all belonged to one period but he makes the point that N. was individualized only gradually, that the boundaries of personality were at first vague, that there was no sharp division between a man and his family or tribe; a state of mind not peculiar to the Hebrews. Some passages on which the author relies may be otherwise explained; Hebrew uses the singular when mentioning things of which every member of a crowd possesses one, e.g. the heart of the people. In Accadian one of the meanings of *napištu* is "throat" and this is accepted as the primary sense, passing easily into "breathing, breath, life". Such phrases as "the N. is the blood" only express the close connection between the two, not their identity. It is a question whether a full discussion of N. is possible without considering its connection with *ruah* "spirit" for in early times these were indistinguishable. There is an index of passages of Scripture and a list of all occurrences of N. in the OT. A careful piece of work.

A. S. TRITTON.

ALBUM DE PALÉOGRAPHIE ARABE. By G. VAJDA. Paris, Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1958. Francs 3,700.

On seventy-seven plates are ninety-four facsimiles, all but nine the size of the originals. Apart from the kufic texts the documents are grouped by countries, ranging from Spain to India, and in chronological order within the group. There are some Christian documents, one Druse and one *aljamiado*—Spanish in Arabic letters. In two or three texts it is hard to disentangle the letters from stains in the paper, and coloured inks do not always come out clearly; otherwise the reproductions are admirable. As the oldest dated MSS. come from Iraq, one would suggest that that group should have followed on the kufic. One is left wondering how anyone dares to date a MS. from the writing alone.

A. S. TRITTON.

ASPECTS DE LA CIVILISATION À L'ÂGE DU FRATRIARCAT. By J. M. LAMBERT. (Bibliothèque de la faculté de droit et des sciences économiques de l'Université d'Alger, vol. xxviii.) pp. 169. Alger, 1958.

The customs whereby the successor is the eldest member of the ruling clan or the son of the dead ruler's sister with the variant that a man rules by right of his wife are derived from a primitive community of women. These customs are examined in Elam and Mesopotamia, among the Berbers, particularly the Tuareg, and in the Canary Islands. But customs depending on patrilinear descent may exist with others derived from matrilinear descent; there may be different rules for succession to real and personal property. This is illustrated from Rome and the Tuareg. A later stage is that a man may have only one wife whose son is his heir and any number of secondary wives whose sons have to be recognized by the father or the king to rank as heirs. Parallels to some of these customs existed among the Irish. Several variants of the *jus primæ noctis* are discussed. In Tunisia women go on pilgrimage to the tomb of Sidi Gennaou, no men allowed. It is argued that this saint's name is the Greek *Gennaios*, a name denoting local gods. From this starting point the author wanders over north Africa including Roman dedications to *Dii Mauri*, bathing customs of women, origin of the word *djinn*, phallic significance of the towers on the heads of Tyche and city goddesses, and Muslim pilgrim rites. There is no index.

A. S. TRITTON.

QUMRAN STUDIES. By CH. RABIN. Scripta Judaica, ii. O.U.P., 1957.

Professor Rabin, whose edition of the Damascus Document was recently so widely acclaimed, has now contributed an important book on the general study of the Qumran scrolls. The unique value of the book is

based on the specialist Rabbinic knowledge of the author—a specialization all too rare among Qumran students. The author's method is literary comparison of the scrolls and Mishnah and Talmudic writings. His theory is that Pharisees, rather than Essenes, formed the New Covenanters of Qumran. They are not, however, the Pharisees of Rabbinic Judaism, but the successors of an earlier group, the *ḥabwah*, which flourished as an exclusive Jewish organization in the first century B.C., and was subsequently ousted by the less rigid Rabbinic Pharisaism in the post-70 A.D. era. The Qumran literature, Rabin thinks, belongs to the "point of transition between Pharisaism and Rabbinic Judaism", and thus reflects the conditions of the first century A.D. The sect occupied the main building at Khirbet Qumran during the second phase of its history, i.e. between 4 B.C. and A.D. 70.

Rabin's hypothesis rests on a comparison—rendered in detailed translation—of relevant texts from Qumran and Rabbinic writings which show affinities in the matter of Novitiate, private property, the Holy Congregation, and the Sect and its opponents. The parallels are striking, and as far as they go, convincing. There are, however, other items mainly of a theological character, which are not included, and there is little reference to the archæological side of the Qumran discovery. Yet, even if one concedes that the book is unlikely to overthrow the now well-established identity of Qumranites and some form of Essenism, Rabin has certainly succeeded in demonstrating another equally important point, that Rabbinic material, rightly understood, may well contribute to our knowledge of Essenism, and so help to fill in the picture of Qumran and its relevance for the religious history of the Jews.

B. J. ROBERTS.

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THE SCRIPTURES OF THE DEAD SEA SECT IN ENGLISH TRANSLATION.  
By T. H. GASTER. pp. 359. Secker and Warburg, 1957.

The first edition of this book appeared in the Doubleday Anchor Books, 1956, but this new edition has additional material, particularly the Aramaic Genesis Apocryphon and some sectarian hymns. Because it claims to offer the general reader a translation of all the major scrolls, the book is supremely important, and better than a dozen popular instructions for providing a perspective for the Qumran discovery. For this reason, two criteria, at least, should be applied. Firstly, the rendering should be readable and reasonably correct. On this standard, Gaster's book is eminently satisfactory, though possibly there are too many "original compositions" in places where the texts are mutilated. The second is that the author should avoid using theories which have not gained substantial support. On this point reference must be made to Gaster's interpretation of the term "Teacher of Righteousness".

It is generally assumed that he is an individual, but Gaster argues that the term refers not to one person but an office. He may be right, and certainly the confusion which now obtains in the matter of attempted identifications could be resolved on this theory. But in its present form it is Gaster's own idea, and is too revolutionary to be used in a book such as this, where the Teacher figures basically in a number of scrolls. The same criticism might be levelled at some of the conclusions adopted about affinities and differences between the scrolls and the New Testament.

Nevertheless the general impression left by the book is one of excellence.

B. J. ROBERTS.

A SHORT ACCOUNT OF EARLY MUSLIM ARCHITECTURE. By K. A. C. CRESWELL. pp. 330. 72 plates + 64 figures in text. Pelican Books. London, 1958. 8s. 6d.

Professor Creswell belongs to that elect group like Schlieman and Evans, Petrie and Woolley, who have devoted a life-time to the enrichment of our knowledge of man's achievements. His work has brought him international renown.

Hitherto, Creswell's classics on Muslim architecture have been sumptuous and very expensive. This volume remedies that. It is not a précis; it is a miniature, bearing the same relationship to its great predecessors as, say, a Cosway to a Reynolds, except that here both are by the same master. 500,000 words have been reduced to 100,000, and new material about the Ka'aba and al-Walid's palace on Lake Tiberias have been added.

Architecture is a most precise art, in which the drawing board is as important as the dream. Professor Creswell often describes with imagination: he always measures with accuracy. The initial quality of Muslim art—so puzzling to a newcomer—is set forth at the beginning of the book. Then comes a thoroughgoing display of the creations of the Umayyad-Hellenistic, and of the Abbaside-Persian masters. The Dome of the Rock has never been better explained, and no pilgrim to Jerusalem should fail to put this book in his scrip. He will find it equally useful in Damascus, in the "Desert Castles", in Ukhaider or Qairawān, Cairo or Cordova. The delightful plates have been reproduced superbly.

Students of early Islamic architecture will notice only one omission. There is no reference to Khirbet Mifjir—the palace of Hishām at Jericho. This is deliberate as a definitive work on this site is due before the end of the year.

STEWART PEROWNE.



A LA DÉCOUVERTE DE L'ARABIE. By JACQUELINE PIRENNE. (Collection "l'Aventure du Passé".) pp. 327. Paris, 1958.

Copiously illustrated, even to its end papers, by maps, photographs, sketches, and reproductions of ancient charts and pictures, this volume presents a concise account, carefully documented, of how the western world's knowledge of Arabia developed from early days to the late nineteenth century.

The earliest witness of importance, Lodovico Bartema (1503), is the first of the serious explorers, giving us the outline, inevitably somewhat dim and uncertain, of a picture which was to be developed and extended to its present fullness by generations of travellers. During the next two centuries it is a story of Portuguese, Dutch, and English adventurers whose reports on the whole have no great scientific value, with one bright exception, Joseph Pitts of Exeter, who in 1680 made the Pilgrimage with his master, an Algerine pirate who had captured him some years before. The view Joseph took of Islam and its founder and expressed on occasion, after the manner of his age, in terms of lively vituperation, did not deter him from setting down an astonishingly accurate and vivid account of the ceremonies at Mecca and Medina.

Denmark can claim credit for the first truly scientific expedition undertaken in 1762 by five experts including Carsten Niebuhr who alone returned alive. His keen powers of observation, careful scrutiny of facts, and insight into the Arab character place Niebuhr among the first of the great reporters, at least as regards Southern Arabia. As yet, little was known in Europe about the central territory where Wāhhābī rule was now in the ascendant. To this region explorers of the early nineteenth century turned their steps, beginning in 1807 with that strange character the Spaniard Badia, *alias* 'Alī Bey al-'Abbāsī, many of whose valuable notes on topography and the Meccan pilgrimage are quoted. Following an account of the ill-fated Seetzen, dead from poison in 1811 (there is a reproduction of his copy of a Himyarite inscription, the first ever seen in Europe), the author devotes an interesting section to the achievements of his luckier successor Burckhardt whose perceptive and illuminating descriptions of Bedouin life, the Ḥijāz and the holy places rank him among the truly great explorers. Due recognition is also given to the useful results of Tamisier's trek through Asir with the army of Aḥmad Pasha and to the journeys of Wallin and Guarmani by different routes down from the north to Ḥā'il and beyond. As for Palgrave, a special chapter deals with his romantic narrative and the exposure of its many errors and fabrications by expert witnesses, notably Philby. Finally we are given a rapid survey of expeditions to Arabia Felix from the late eighteenth century onwards, with special reference to the discovery of ancient monuments due in large measure to Arnaud's tenacity and enterprise which laid the foundation of South Arabian archæology and epigraphy.

Although the narrative does not go beyond 1870 or thereabouts, by which time the broad outlines of the peninsula's geography and sociology had been pretty well established, still it is an immense subject even up to that point, and a glance at the formidable catalogue of sources used gives some idea of the task of selection and compression which the author was faced with, and on the whole has admirably performed, rounding up and vividly presenting the chief actors and their achievements within the narrow compass of some 300 pages, with no omissions of any consequence. Except one, and he is Sir Richard Burton, no less. It may surprise many to find his name dismissed in a single line as being among those who "n'apporteront plus grand-chose de neuf". But surely, at least in regard to Medina, he added considerably to Burckhardt's information. Not only was he an assiduous collector of facts at first hand and often at grave personal risk, but he also had the art and spirit to record them without being a crashing bore, which no doubt has earned him a black mark from historians of the bloodless school whose touch petrifies. Mlle Pirenne's scholarly, sensitive, and highly readable work bears ample witness that she does not belong to historians of that type.

A. S. FULTON.

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THE TRAVELS OF IBN BAṬṬŪṬA A.D. 1325-1354, VOL. I. Td. by H. A. R. GIBB. pp. xvii + 269. Published for the Hakluyt Society by Cambridge University Press, 1958.

Sir Hamilton Gibb's earlier volume of selections, *Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's Travels in Asia and Africa*, Broadway Travellers series, London, 1929, is now to be followed by a full translation, of which this is the first of four volumes. The basic text is the standard edition of Defrémery and Sanguinetti (1853-58) with certain corrections on points of detail. The biographical annotations to the admirable translation are of particular interest to orientalist historians of the fourteenth century since Sir Hamilton Gibb has taken considerable pains to identify the numerous personalities mentioned in the text and to indicate references to them in other Arabic sources. His identification of places contributes to the historical geography of the region, and notes explaining Koranic, literary, and other allusions will be of especial value to readers who are not orientalists. A Foreword gives the information on the life of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa provided by his own narrative and the brief biographical notice in *Al-Durar al-Kāmina*. This volume, divided into five chapters, covers Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's early journeys across North Africa, through Egypt, Syria and the Hijaz, and to al-Najaf. There is a full bibliography of medieval texts and modern works.

P. M. HOLT.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO ARABIC METROLOGY I. EARLY ARABIC GLASS WEIGHTS AND MEASURE STAMPS ACQUIRED BY THE AMERICAN NUMISMATIC SOCIETY, 1951-1956. By GEORGE C. MILES. pp. x + 124 + xiii plates. (Numismatic Notes and Monographs No 141.) New York, The American Numismatic Society, 1958.

This monograph by one of the world's leading Islamic numismatists is a most valuable contribution to the study of Arabic metrology. Dr. Miles has already published the standard works on early Arabic glass weights and stamps (NNM, Nos. 111 and 120). The present volume is in a way a continuation of these, but also in it the author embarks on a new survey of all known early Arabic metrological objects with a view to a final corpus.

In this, the first, part of the projected series of catalogues Miles describes almost 300 items which have been acquired by the ANS since 1951; of these no fewer than eighty are hitherto unpublished types. The pieces chiefly of Umayyad and 'Abbāsid officials, with a few Tulūnids, and anonymous and unidentified specimens, are meticulously described and translated, wherever possible, with copious and most valuable annotations. The plates are also, considering the nature of the material illustrated, of a high standard. There are also useful indexes.

The present reviewer entirely agrees with Miles (pp. 107 f.) that the ring-weights published a few years ago by Professor Paul Balog as early Umayyad pieces, bearing the date (A.H.) 88, can on epigraphical grounds be assigned to a century or so later, in spite of the absence of the word for the "hundred" (or more likely "two hundred").

JOHN WALKER.

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POLITICAL THOUGHT IN MEDIEVAL ISLAM. AN INTRODUCTORY OUTLINE.  
By E. I. J. ROSENTHAL. pp. xii + 324. Cambridge University Press, 1958. 35s. net

The appearance of a comprehensive book on Muslim political philosophy is opportune now, when this aspect of general philosophy in Islam is attracting growing attention and when the political future of Islam remains uncertain. This work contains little that has direct reference to the aspirations and doubts of to-day (the author glances at Ibn Taimiyah in this connection on pp. 60-1), but by recalling attention to the views on political subjects of some of the greatest Muslim thinkers of the past, it has relevance beyond academic circles.

In any system based on a revealed law or premisses having a divine sanction philosophy, if it appears at all, is a secondary manifestation; coming after the theology of the system, it is a rationalized account of the content of the revelation, and has remained always to some extent at variance with it. Islam is no exception, and Muslim philosophy made its appearance when the theology derived from the

Qur'ān and expressed in the Shari'ah (the all-embracing religious law of Islam) was already mature. As far as politics is concerned, the Muslim jurists, as Dr. Rosenthal shows, expounded as part of the Shari'ah a doctrine of the ideal Caliphate, based on what was assumed to have been the practice of the first four successors of Muḥammad, and this discussion together with the views of moralists and men of affairs on the art of government (p. 113), influenced often by reminiscences of Sasanid Persia (pp. 68 ff.), may be said to represent the constitutional theory of medieval Islam, dealt with in Part I of the book (pp. 13-109). Dr. Rosenthal emphasizes the constant effort of the jurists to bring their theory of the Caliphate into line with contemporary political reality, an effort in which they succeeded to the extent that the Caliphate was preserved both as an institution and as a universal idea after the extinction of the Abbasid caliphate in 1258 (p. 22). Explicit or implicit in what he says of this and other aspects of the Shari'ah is the author's appreciation of the immeasurable value of the Torah for the Jews.

Political philosophy properly speaking is discussed in Part II (pp. 113-233). Emerging from the Greek texts, notably the *Republic* and the *Nicomachean Ethics* or perhaps rather Hellenistic compendia and commentaries on these (available in Arabic from the ninth century), the central problem of political philosophy, as of Islamic philosophy generally, is the reconciliation of reason, in this case the man-made Nomos of the Ideal State, and the prophetically revealed Shari'ah (pp. 118, 210). The philosophers, for whom as much as for the jurists the Shari'ah remains the authoritative guarantor of happiness in this life and the next (pp. 7, 131), are thus religious philosophers (pp. 3, 113). Common ground between them and the Greeks is afforded, as the author claims (p. 210, cf. pp. 116, 131, 139, 148, 209), by the central place of law and justice in the political thought of Plato and Aristotle as well as in Islam. The study of the Greek texts led the Muslim philosophers to grasp more fully the political character of the Shari'ah (pp. 116, 185-6). Finally, as in Averroes (Ibn Rushd), while the superiority of the Shari'ah (in view of its origin and more comprehensive character) is maintained, its aim is seen to be identical with that of philosophy (p. 208).

Dr. Rosenthal's book provides valuable insights into the general character of political thought in Islam; and, especially in Part II, he has a number of important points to make, e.g. the dependence of Averroes on al-Fārābī (pp. 199 ff.). (Much of the material of Part II is to be found in more extended form in the author's earlier articles and in his recently published *Averroes' Commentary on Plato's "Republic"*, Cambridge University Press, 1956.)

In view of the wide range and at the same time still provisional character (pp. 5, 177) of the present work it is, perhaps, not surprising

that it contains much with which a reviewer will disagree. Thus we are told (pp. 134-5) that al-Fārābī terms all the imperfect states which, following Plato, he discusses and contrasts with the ideal State, "ignorant states," the reference for this being given as *Madīnah faḍīlah*, p. 61, l. 17, and *Siyāṣah*, p. 58, ll. 7 ff. It seems quite clear from the first passage and the subsequent discussion, where one may draw attention to the words *wa-ammā al-madīnah al-fāsiqah* (p. 62, ll. 20-1), and also from the context of the second passage, that al-Fārābī regarded at least three classes of states as opposed to the Ideal, viz., in addition to the ignorant state, the immoral (vicious) state and the misguided (erring) state. In the *Madīnah faḍīlah* (loc. cit.) he admits a fourth class, not very important, the altered (transformed) state. It is plain from the relatively large amount of space assigned to it that of these the ignorant state is the most important and, unlike the others, includes a number of distinct types. Evidently misled by this, Dr. Rosenthal gives the vicious, transformed, and erring states as additional types of the ignorant state (p. 137). On the other hand, he correctly speaks on p. 168 of "the three states which Al-Fārābī opposes to the ideal state in his *Siyāsa*". Al-Fārābī's three-fold classification as above of the imperfect states is also accepted by al-Dawwānī (cf. p. 218). As a generic term for all the imperfect states we have *siyāsūt fāsidah*, "corrupt politics" in the *Fuṣūl al-madānī* (§ 88, see below).

The author speaks of al-Fārābī's *Taḥṣīl al-sa'ādah* in comparison with the *Madīnah faḍīlah* and the *Siyāṣah* as "the most important, independent, and mature of the three" (p. 125) and as "a much more original composition" than the *Madīnah faḍīlah* (p. 132). This was scarcely the opinion of Muslim critics, as may be seen from the words of one of them reported by Ibn abī Uṣaibi'ah (II, 136), and it is the *Madīnah faḍīlah* which is continually quoted by later writers. The *Taḥṣīl* is scarcely ever quoted. Dr. Rosenthal further gives the order of composition of the three works as first the *Madīnah faḍīlah*, then the *Siyāṣah*, and last the *Taḥṣīl* (p. 141). But as we learn from Ibn abī Uṣaibi'ah (II, 138-9) al-Fārābī completed the *Madīnah faḍīlah* in 331/942-3. The *Siyāṣah* and the *Fuṣūl al-Madānī* are presumably later, as Dr. Rosenthal seems to admit (pp. 132-3, 141-2). At all events we know that al-Fārābī was still occupied with the *Madīnah faḍīlah* in 337/948-9 (Ibn abī Uṣaibi'ah, loc. cit.). Yet in the *Taḥṣīl* al-Fārābī promises to describe separately the philosophy of Plato and Aristotle. This intention was afterwards carried out in the *De Platonis philosophia* and its companion treatise on Aristotle. There is certainly no room for all this literary activity in the period after 337/948-9 during which on Dr. Rosenthal's assumption the composition of the *Taḥṣīl* would most naturally fall, for al-Fārābī died in Rajab, 339 (December, 950). The conclusion would be that it is earlier than the other works.



Again, we read "Like Plato, Al-Fārābī starts from the ideal state, whose first ruler must possess twelve qualifications which are all derived from Plato. Aware of the near-impossibility of finding such a perfect man Al-Fārābī is satisfied if the ruler has six or even five of these qualities" (p. 133). This is not what the text quoted (*Madīnah fāḍilah*, 59-60) says. Al-Fārābī there gives first a list of twelve or thirteen innate qualities (*khaṣṣah*) which the first chief or ideal ruler must possess. When the possessor of these qualities by nature (60, l. 13) comes to maturity there must then be realized "those six conditions which have been mentioned previously, or five of them". The conditions (*sharā'it*) in fact have been stated, though somewhat indistinctly, immediately before the list of qualities (58-9). The ideal requirements are considerably more stringent than Dr. Rosenthal supposes.

As regards Avempace (Ibn Bājjah), Dr. Rosenthal is inclined to chide him for what he calls his egotism (p. 173) in refusing (in the person of the solitary sage of the *Tadbīr al-mutawahhīd*) to take part in the life of the imperfect states. Avempace has "turned his back on Plato and Aristotle as well as on Islam" (ibid.). This judgment is surely unjustified. In the opinion of Averroes, Avempace believed that Plato's *Republic* offered a complete discussion of the Ideal State (cited p. 175), and for Ibn Khaldūn in the *Muqaddimah* he is one of the typical Islamic philosophers, with al-Fārābī and Avicenna in the East and Averroes in the West, remaining undifferentiated from the others in the respects mentioned. The position of Avempace is strictly in accord with Plato's doctrine concerning the philosopher's "compeers in other states" (as indeed is realized by Dr. Rosenthal, p. 173) who "may quite reasonably refuse to collaborate: there they have sprung up, like a self-sown plant, in spite of their country's institutions; no one has fostered their growth, and they cannot be expected to show gratitude for a care they have never received (*Republic*, 520 B—the source of the "plants" or "weeds" (*nawābit*) for certain individuals in al-Fārābī and Avempace, as Dr. Rosenthal has been the first to point out—F. M. Cornford's translation, quoted p. 172). It is also in line with al-Fārābī: "It is wrong therefore for the virtuous man to remain in the corrupt polities, and he must emigrate to the Ideal States, if such exist in actuality in his time. If they do not exist, then the virtuous man is a stranger in the present world and wretched in life, and to die is preferable for him than to live" (*Fuṣūl al-madani*, § 88). Here al-Fārābī speaks emphatically of the duty of the virtuous man to leave the imperfect states and of his unenviable condition if there is nowhere for him to go. The *Tadbīr al-mutawahhīd* may be said to offer the solution of al-Fārābī's dilemma, by its recommendation of theoretical withdrawal as a means to the good life, even in the existing imperfect states. In the case of Avempace it may be more appropriate to speak of development than of "deviation" (heading of Chapter VIII).

Dr. Rosenthal properly remarks on the obscurity of Avempace (pp. 10, 159, 166, 175). He nowhere perhaps allows that the *Tadbīr al-mutawahhīd* was left unfinished, and that we have it at present in a single manuscript. Several of the other works are in little better case, as far as manuscripts are concerned.

Dr. Rosenthal calls Avempace "the first Muslim philosopher in the West" (p. 158). He appears to have forgotten Ibn Masarra and Ibn Ḥazm (the latter mentioned elsewhere in the book). There were also before Avempace the logicians Ibn al-Kattānī (Ḥumaidī, No. 35), Sa'īd b. Fathūn of Saragossa (Ḥumaidī, No. 478), and a number of others. As to the titles of some of Avempace's principal works Dr. Rosenthal is not very happy, rendering *Tadbīr al-Mutawahhīd* by "the self-government of the <metaphysician> in isolation" (p. 159) and approving "Epistola de Perfectione" for the *Risālat al-wadā'* in its Latin translation (ibid.). Convenient English titles for both works, "Rule of the Solitary" and "Epistle (or Letter) of Farewell", have already appeared in *JRAS.* (1945, 64-5). The title of a third work, the *Kitāb ittishāl al-'aql bi'l-insān*, is there given as "Union of the Intellect with Man". Dr. Rosenthal seems to prefer "contact" to "union" (p. 158) but thereafter retains "union" (pp. 160, 162, 164, 170, etc.).

There are minor mistakes, due perhaps to hasty revision, e.g. it is implied (p. 2) that the simplest form of the Muslim credo is "Allah is great and Muḥammad is his prophet", for "There is no god but Allah, etc."; the "two Almohad rulers, Abū Ya'qūb Yūsuf and Yūsuf Abū Ya'qūb Al-Manṣūr" (p. 176) look uncommonly like the same person (the second should be Abū Yūsuf Ya'qūb Al-Manṣūr); *Al-fuṣūl al-madanīya* or *Fuṣūl al-madanīya* (translated *Political Aphorisms*) is repeatedly given without textual or other authority as the title of a work of al-Fārābī (pp. 125, 139, 199, 202, etc.). Mistakes in the rendering of Arabic words and phrases are specially frequent: "the Mudar" (p. 30) should be "Muḍar"; Buwaihīd (pp. 28, 32), also Buwayyids (p. 63), should be Buwaihīd, Buwaihīds, or Buwayhīd, Buwayhīds (Dr. Rosenthal in this book has not decided which form of the diphthong to use, nor does it greatly matter); *al-salaf al-umma* (p. 35) should be *salaf al-umma*; *sharā'ī* (p. 59) and *sharā'ī* (pp. 130, 183) should be *sharā'ī*; *ghadab* (p. 97) should be *ghaḍab*; Merwān (p. 98) should be Marwān; *'aql fa'āl* (p. 150) should be *'aql fa'āl*; *qallat* (p. 155) should be *qallat*; "the Maghreb" (pp. 176, 189, 192) should be "the Maghrib"; and many more might be listed.

There remain two heads of criticism of a more general character. One concerns the matter of Dr. Rosenthal's book. There appears to be an arbitrary or rather perhaps a fortuitous element in the choice of some of the authors and works treated. The difficulties of adequate representation of a vast subject of course are great. Yet there are a number of works in print, one of them very well known, of which

Dr. Rosenthal says nothing at all, but which seem to have at least as good a claim to be included in his volume as several of those that do appear. Even an introductory outline should find room for mention of the interesting *Sirr al-asrār* (Secretum Secretorum), sometimes identified under the title *Kitāb al-siyāsah* with the *Politics* of Aristotle and much read in translation in medieval Europe. We might also expect to hear something of the *Kitāb al-siyāsah li-Aflātūn* of Ibn al-Dāyah, first edited by Jamil al-ʿAẓm (Beirut, no date), then by Abdurrahman Badawi in *Al-uṣūl al-Yūnāniyah*, Part I; the *Kitāb fīʾl-siyāsah* of al-Wazīr al-Maghribī, edited in 1948 by Dr. Sami Dahan; the *Sulūk al-mālik fī tadbīr al-mamālik* of Ibn al-Rabīʿ, at one time considered the first work on philosophy among the Arabs (Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur*, ed. 1, I, 209), an error subsequently corrected; also several pages in the *Tambih* of al-Masʿūdī, closely connected with al-Fārābī's *Madīnah fādilah*. Known or unknown to Dr. Rosenthal, there is nothing about these contributions in his book.

There is also the question of presentation. The style of the book is sometimes loose, and it appears to be insufficiently corrected. The discussion in the text is often far too detailed for ready comprehension. Salient biographical facts about the authors discussed are relegated to the notes, which contain a mass of material not invariably strictly necessary (seventy-two pages of notes to 233 of text seem too many in a work of this type). There is no regular bibliography (though the Index and Glossary are full and good).

To sum up, the work appears to contain too much, as well as too little, to achieve the aim of the ideal outline. The difficulties of Dr. Rosenthal's task were great, and he has at least in part overcome them. The book will undoubtedly be read, which is not the fate of all works on Islamic philosophy, and, in particular, consulted by the specialists to their profit, but it lacks simplicity and complete authority, and hence its usefulness to the general reader and to the young student is likely to be a good deal less.

D. M. DUNLOP.

### South-East Asia

THE BRONZE-IRON AGE OF INDONESIA. By H. R. VAN HEERKEN. pp. 108, 25 figs., and 34 plates. Martinus Nijhoff, 1958.

The title of this companion volume to the author's work on the Stone Age indicates that in Indonesia bronze objects have always been found associated with iron ones. Like its predecessor this volume will long remain a standard work. The chance finds of bronze axes, drums and vessels are carefully dealt with island by island; then comes a section

on the megalithic cultures, and in the third part the results of excavations at urn cemeteries are discussed. Adequate illustration and exhaustive bibliography admirably supplement the text. The final chapter provides a useful summary of Heine-Geldern's theory of the origins of the Dongson culture, which the author remarks (p. 95) has now been accepted by all writers on the subject—except Karlgren.

In Part II, Megalithic Cultures, he accepts the division of these into an "older" and a "younger" culture. But because no megalith in the area has yet been found with neolithic remains "older" and "younger" are lumped together as of the Bronze Age. This is likely to confuse the issue for future research, and is opposed to evidence that provides a strong presumption that the "older" culture originated in the neolithic. For (1) in his previous volume (p. 131) the author stated that the required evidence is available for the megaliths of East Polynesia. (2) As originally shown by Heine-Geldern, the older megalithic, un-mixed with the younger, survives among the Angami Nagas, accompanied by a primitive type of ornament very different from the Dongson. Another point. On p. 19 the author mentions, but does not deal with, the living megalithic culture of Nias, saying that it "is best left to the ethnologists". But prehistory cannot afford such watertight compartments: every word that the author himself says on p. 44 about the religious significance of megaliths is derived from ethnology.

H. G. QUARITCH WALES.

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ANGKOR ET LE CAMBODGE AU XVI<sup>e</sup> SIÈCLE D'APRÈS LES SOURCES  
PORTUGAISES ET ESPAGNOLES. By BERNARD P. GROSlier. pp. 194,  
7 maps and plans. Annales du Musée Guimet, Tome LXIII<sup>e</sup>, 1958.

The core of this interesting book is a hitherto unpublished account of Angkor by Diogo de Couto, recently discovered by Prof. C. R. Boxer. It is the earliest surviving European description of Angkor, based on information given to de Couto by the Capuchin missionary Fr. Antonio da Magdalena, who visited Angkor 1585-6. Much fuller than accounts published early in the seventeenth century it contains valuable new facts. Around this central core M. Groslier has compiled a comprehensive conspectus of what is known of sixteenth century Angkor and Cambodia from local chronicles, as well as from other European accounts which are here conveniently reprinted. His original contribution is mainly an illuminating archaeological commentary on the early descriptions in the light of what is known to-day. The most interesting part of de Couto's account tells of the temporary re-occupation of Angkor by King Satha, and describes the city's canals and hydraulic engineering works which it was then still found possible to put in working order.

M. Groslier has made a special study of this canal system from aerial survey which he elucidates with several large plans. At the same time he regrets (p. 102) that the absence of all serious excavations (apart from the mere clearing of monuments) is cruelly felt in this domain. Another noteworthy point in de Couto's account is that this alone of all the earlier descriptions of Angkor recognises the Indian aspect of the Khmer ruins, an aspect on which modern interpretation has been concentrated. But M. Groslier remarks (p. 116) that happily a beginning is now being made to reveal the pre-Indian basis: "The fundamental religion of Khmer society, beneath its brilliant Indian mantle, was the cult of the waters and the earth."

H. G. QUARITCH WALES.

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LONGMANS' MALAY STUDIES SERIES (LITERATURE) :—Kēsusastēraan Mēlayu. Anthologies of Malay History, Poetry, Hindu and Japanese tales, Malay folk and rhapsodist tales, works from the Arabic and Persian, and cycles of tales. London, 1958. 6 vols.

This anonymous anthology betrays its compiler's thorough and extensive knowledge of Malay literature. The vigorous and concise style of the English introductory notes and the wealth of information they give dispel any doubts one might have about the identity of their author. In these anthologies, as in his dictionaries, Sir Richard Winstedt has combined practical usefulness with a high scholarly standard. This is a series of schoolbooks for Malayan pupils, but at the same time it is a valuable supplement to the author's "History of Malay Literature" and it contains many texts never published before.

There are some marks of haste: a number of misprints, especially in Vol. V, and a queer confusion concerning the story of Joseph in the same volume. The introduction mentions an old version of the Koranic story of Yusuf translated from a Persian model, but the text gives a fragment of what seems to be a nineteenth century version of the Bible story. Hamzah Fansuri's heretical mysticism was not condemned by Iskandar Muda (Vol. II, 48, 116) but by his successor Iskandar Thani. I think Hamzah's quatrains should not be detached from their context (the three quatrains printed as one group are from pp. 59, 104, and 109 of Doorenbos' edition; the second group includes couplets from pp. 21, 22, 46, 61, 83). Hamzah's authorship of the *Sha'ir dagang*, from which four of these couplets are taken is dubious.

But these are minor defects in a work otherwise of high quality. Texts not previously published are found in Vol. III (Chērita Hindu dan Jawa), V (Chērita 'Arab dan Farsi, some from Winstedt's own MS. of the Hikayat Iskandar) and VI (from the long Hikayat Bakhtiyar



in the Raffles collection). There are some delightful episodes taken from printed texts, such as the Malay description of life at the Governor-General's court in Batavia, 1822; P. P. Roorda van Eysinga and C. van Angelbeek were the authorities on Malay language and customs.

The publisher promises a final volume of modern Malay prose.

P. VOORHOEVE.

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THE CRESCENT AND THE RISING SUN. (Indonesian Islam under the Japanese occupation, 1942-1945). By HARRY J. BENDA. pp. i-xiv + 1-320.

This valuable and objective study is the result of a seven years' sojourn in Indonesia, the author's friendship with several Dutch scholars and the teaching of Indonesian refugees at Cornell University. Mr. Benda claims to have used "a unique collection of primary materials relating to the Japanese occupation of Indonesia", a claim borne out by eighty-six pages of notes and fifteen pages of bibliography. The first chapter describes the policy initiated by Snouck Hurgronje in consequence of the Achinese war, namely neutrality in religious affairs coupled with repression of Islamic political agitation. But that agitation led the Dutch to abandon their ethical policy and Hurgronje's ideal of an autonomous Indonesia loyal to Holland for repressive vigilance and to their fostering local 'adat which militated against the Islamic unification of Indonesia.

The rest of the book shows how the Japanese displayed considerable skill in using Islam not for economic but for military purposes, leaving behind them Indonesian leaders with some military knowledge to support their nationalism.

Lines seem to have dropped out on pages 63 and 93.

R. O. WINSTEDT.

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DUTCH-ASIATIC TRADE, 1620-1740. By Kristof Glamann. pp. 334. Danish Science Press, Copenhagen, and Martinus Nijhoff, 1958.

In accordance with a modern trend in historical research, Professor Glamann breaks new ground in this fascinating and valuable economic study of the great Netherlands East India Company, compiled from original records at the Hague, in London, Antwerp, Paris, Stockholm and Copenhagen. The introduction describes the constitution of that company, reminding us in its concluding sentence that "the profit of the Dutch-Asiatic trade was moderate as compared with the receipts won by the Dutch by shipping and commerce in Europe". Chapter II

throws new light on trends in trade, the fall in the value of imported spices and pepper, the rise after a few decades in the value of imports of textiles, silk and cotton and the sudden emergence of tea and coffee to a place among principal commodities. There follow pages on the cargo of a Company's ship (pp. 24, 40), the ballast carried, her reception after the nine months' voyage, the contract sales to a few big merchants, the cost of fitting out a ship with a cargo of hemp, canvas, pitch, tar, timber, spirits and wine, leather and lead, copper, Delft ware, cheese and butter and so on up to 220 different articles. One chapter is devoted to the fixing of the value of the Spanish dollar, the rix-dollar, the Brabant dollar, the ducatoon, the rupee and the pagoda minted in Coromandel and to the difficulties of getting bullion. Separate chapters handle the trade in the chief commodities, and the last chapter deals with the difficulty of introducing any uniform system of accounts for so vast an area and the deficiencies of the system adopted. "The administration neglected to divide the expenses into capital expenses and costs. Furthermore it neglected to add specific costs to prices of the various commodities such as freight interest and insurance."

The fall of the company was ascribed generally to corruption until Dr. Mansvelt discovered also bad administration. Professor Glamann now adds competition in European and Asian markets, difficulties in securing bullion, the fall off of the Coromandel trade and England's commercial drive in China.

R. O. WINSTEDT.

THE LAY OF JAYA PRANA. With Introduction, Text, Translation and Notes. By C. HOOPYKAAS, Ph.D. pp. 124 + 3 illustrations. Luzac and Co., London, 1958.

As Dr. Hoopykaas remarks, relatively little of Bali's vast literary output has been made available to the West, and all translations but one have been in Dutch. It is therefore interesting and valuable to students of Indonesian life and to philologists to have the text of a lay on the Balinese Uriah, together with an introduction explaining the Balinese attitude towards expiation for the murder of an innocent man and giving reference to Sasak, Madurese and Javanese ballads with the similar *motif* of a death-letter. There are also sections on the metre of the ballad and on the spelling and punctuation of the MSS., and the characteristics that divide them into two main groups. Footnotes accompany the text and an English translation that well renders the spirit of the folk lay. The work is of a standard we have come to expect from *alumni* of Leiden University.

R. O. WINSTEDT.

P'A LAK—P'A LAM : P'OMMACHAK. By PIERRE BERNARD LAFONT.  
École Française d'Extrême Orient. Bibliothèque de Diffusion,  
VI. pp. 37. 1957.

M. Lafont presents summaries in French of two versions of the Rāma epic, from Vientiane (Lao text), and Muong Sing (Tai Lu text.) The Muong Sing text, discovered by him, is cast in jātaka form. In this it resembles the Rōi et Rāma Jātaka. Certain features, notably the inclusion of nagas and garudas in the Lankā battle, Sita's ordeal by fire and the final reconciliation, are common to both versions.

It is clear, however, even from the summary, that a really striking similarity exists between the Rāma Jātaka and the Vientiane version. Both texts have two stories, one clearly set in the Mekong valley but introducing the main characters of the Rāma epic, the other relating the story in its classical setting, with incident generally comparable to that of the Thai Rāmākian of 1789, though the latter is more elaborate and without Buddhist content.

Prince Dhani Nivat tentatively dates the Rāma Jātaka in the sixteenth century A.D. It may be that the Vientiane version is also early. Both it and the Rāma Jātaka share incidents that have parallels in pre-Rāmākian fragments in Thai.

A complete translation of the Vientiane text is promised. We must hope, too, for editions of both texts to provide materials for the study of versions of the Rāma story in Tailanguages.

E. H. S. SIMMONDS

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AN INTRODUCTION TO THE THAI (SIAMESE) LANGUAGE FOR EUROPEAN STUDENTS. By P. A. LANYAN-ORGILL. pp. xii+91. Victoria, B.C. : Canada Curlew Press. 1955.

It is claimed that this book will provide both "philologist" and beginner with a sound basis for further work on the language. These are large claims, and a short review must therefore concentrate, regrettably, upon noticing some of the fundamental errors that impair the work.

The author states that experiments while conducting courses in the language have led to his particular arrangement of material, but he does not adopt any type of arrangement usual in teaching Thai in Britain and America to-day. It is no longer acceptable merely to set out lists of terms in classes, often notional, certainly not formally established, interspersed with comments on grammar and usage. The outline of grammar contains, in fact, mostly lexical material.

It is right to emphasize the importance of lexicon, but naïve to consider that there is a valid opposition—lexical complexity : grammatical simplicity. The problems of grammatical-lexical relations

now exercising linguists in Thai and related fields seem to have escaped the author.

The transcription adopted is, with certain regressions, that of M. R. Haas, as is some of the grammatical terminology. This is not made clear. There is an astonishingly high proportion of error in the Thai script equivalents of the forms in transcription. The descriptions of vowels and consonants often indicate sounds different from those firmly established for Thai by phoneticians.

The conclusions reached on the Thai language "family", and the distribution of dialects in the three groups Northern, Central and Southern Thai, are highly controversial.

Little enough work has so far been done on Thai literature, so that brief general statements are naturally difficult. However, it is hard to feel much confidence in some of Mr. Lanyon-Orgill's conclusions. It is scarcely correct to say that Thai is especially rich in lyrics when the bulk of Thai poetry must be classed as epic and epic-romance. How Luang Ha Wat, the putative part-author of a minor eighteenth century work first written in Burmese, can be classed as a modern essayist is beyond understanding.

E. H. S. SIMMONDS.

### India, Pakistan and Ceylon

INDISCHE GEISTESWELT. By HELMUTH VON GLASENAPP. Band I, Glaube und Weisheit der Hindus, Holle Verlag. pp. 334. Baden-Baden, 1958.

In fully developed civilizations all different disciplines of thought find their proper expression. The only difference between divergent civilizations known to us through a long and continuous tradition lies in the accent and emphasis put by each of them on one of the possible spheres of thought. What is for one the central aspect, is for another peripheral. For most Sanskrit scholars and interpreters of Indian thought, in the West and India alike, the metaphysical approach is India's special contribution to world thought. India's "Leitmotiv" is inquiry into the relationship of World and Man as but transitory manifestations in contrast to their immanent and permanent substance, the Absolute or supra-personal Divine (*Brahman*). Śāṅkara sees in a personal god only its highest representation and practicable means of devotion. Glasenapp in his "Indische Geisteswelt" differs from the usual treatment, limiting himself to a shortened outline of the six orthodox Indian systems and their origin in early Vedic literature. So he assigns nearly half his book to the epics and their profane parts on heroic deeds and fables and their emotional lyrics. From his standpoint he deals in great detail with the *Purāṇas* and their chapters on

legend and cult. The *Āgamas* and *Tantras* again are more fully represented and also the law-books, and *Gṛhya-sūtras* with their domestic social contents are lovingly treated in specimens. Then follows a short survey of philosophical systems in which Indian materialism is treated as of nearly the same importance as the six orthodox systems of metaphysics.

Part III he assigns to the post-classical time of Viṣṇu and Śiva sects and their tendencies to a personal *Bhakti*, devotion to a certain god. Here he makes the striking statement that Indian "Henotheism", the supremacy, but not uniqueness, of one god, can go so far that one and the same author (for instance Kalidāsa) shows in his works an alternating devotion either to Śiva, Viṣṇu or Brahma.

The last part of this book is devoted to modern religious movements in India which have come about under Western influence—a revival of classical Indian thought with strong tendencies towards a unification of ancient Indian and modern Western concepts. Here we find specimens of the works of modern Bengali poets and their religious and nationalistic themes, and also excerpts from Tilak's and Ghandi's, Tagore's and Aurobindo's writings. This chapter culminates in the assertion of the harmony of all religions as represented by Ramakrishna, Vivekananda and Radhakrishnan.

This book tries to give a comprehensive survey of all and every expression of India's old, classical and up-to-date literature without the usual emphasis on the metaphysical trend of India's thought.

The student of philosophy may miss sometimes the emphasis he is accustomed to give to India's chief characteristic her metaphysics, but the general reader will benefit from a work of such clarity of diction.

Very often the German translations are given in verse form. Wisely, however, Glasenapp not infrequently adds a paraphrase in prose in order to retain the original Indian flavour of the text.

BETTY HEIMANN.

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LE PARAMĀRTHASĀRA. Sanskrit Text and Translation by LILIANE SILBURN. Chargée de recherches au C.N.R.S. pp. 105. Paris, 1957.

This book contains the text and translation of Abhinavagupta's Paramārthasāra with an introduction of fifty-six pages. The actual Sanskrit text consists of only 105 verses. To these a translation of the text and of a commentary on most of the original verses is added. One would have liked the Sanskrit text of the commentary and more details about its author.

The long introduction is justified because of the complex personality of Abhinavagupta. It is assumed probably justly, that we deal here



with the single personality of one author in spite of his variant activities. All his works on poetry, grammar and philosophico-religious mysticism bear witness to an extraordinary gift of psychological subtlety in inter-related matters. This Śivaite Brahmin from Kāśmir is an authority on rhetorics, on *alamkāras* (external poetical ornaments) and—more important—on the psychological suggestiveness of articulation and sound in poetry (*dhvani*). Besides, he deals with psychological phonetics and thirdly—in the present work—he ventures to interpret religious and ecstatic experiences of Yogic mysticism. In this *Paramārthasāra* Abhinavagupta has chosen as his theme the fundamental unity (*Yoga*) of the Universe. All the single manifestations of empirical phenomena must be traced back to a principle which, however, is not realizable by the average man. Here we come near to the Vedāntic Summum, *Brahman*, the all-embracing Neuter. From this standpoint Abhinavagupta deals with, and tries to correct, the dualism of the Sāṅkhya system which, strangely enough, sees a dualism in the transcendental sphere and not in the empirical world. However, this Śivaite text seeks the Highest in a supreme person (not unlike the God Viṣṇu in the *Bhagavadgītā*), namely Parama-Śiva which the French author calls the grand “Soi” of which all single “sois” are but morsels of illusionary isolation and illusionary separation. As such the term *māyā* gains here a new and correct sense. *Māyā* does not mean an absolute irreality of the world, but an imagined isolation of the parts from the cosmic Whole. All *meṃyas*, all measurable objects and subjects, are to be traced back to the transcendent and immanent One. The emphasis on the latent unity is the “Leitmotiv” of the *Paramārthasāra*. However, the unity is here found in a *theistic* monism, where Śiva, the God, is the absolute Supreme. From this standpoint arise further problems. First the problem of Grace, personal, but double-sided, grace gained by the free gift undeservedly bestowed on human beings by God Śiva, and grace gained gradually by the accomplished Yogin and meritoriously acquired by the accomplished seeker.

The personal summit, the God, here unavoidably displaces the principle, the “It”, the *Brahman* of Vedāntic conception. *Brahman* in the theistic world of thought is no more the highest principle Brahman, but is degraded to the personal God Brahma, its minor offshoot (cf. pp. 34, 64, etc.). But why is *Brahman*, when taken as the agent of cosmic expansion, called inactive (cf. pp. 27, 67, etc.) ?

Yet another psychological problem is presented in the text and fully dealt with in the Introduction : I mean the spontaneity of the outburst of divine grace and of Yogic illumination. This is indicated by the frequent term *spandana*, sudden vibration (for which one would expect, especially with an author bent on grammatical and phonetic speculations, also to find the term *sphoṭa*).

Miss Silburn brings to her task an admirable enthusiasm and through

it a thorough penetration of the problems in hand. She shows also a scholarly respect for Indian terminology which in most cases cannot be covered by Western so-called equivalent terms, so that she rightly paraphrases, instead of translating with terms of inherited association appropriate only for the West. She applies this method preferably for terms of ultimate import like *līlā* and *ānanda*. Śiva in his highest aspect does not pour out a personal bliss (*ānanda*), but is himself an undifferentiated mass of bliss (pp. 79 ff.). Thereby the "theistic" monism widens to a supra-personal monism (rightly stated on pp. 39, 51). Similarly, *līlā* is properly interpreted on p. 74 as "jeu prodigieux", a miraculous play and display of vital cosmic forces. Her glossary contains cautious and well thought-out terminological notes.

One could wish that the exact pages were always quoted when the Introduction refers to notes on the translation of the text.

BETTY HEIMANN.

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THE VĀLMĪKI-RĀMĀYAṆA. Critically edited for the first time, by G. H. BHATT. Volume I, Bālakāṇḍa, Fascicule I. pp. xxxiv, 80. Baroda. Oriental Institute, 1958.

A new critical edition of the Rāmāyaṇa, inspired by and to a large extent modelled on that of the Mahābhārata, will be welcome to all Sanskrit scholars. The work is being produced by the Rāmāyaṇa Department of the Oriental Institute of the University of Baroda under the general editorship of the Director, Professor G. H. Bhatt. The Department was officially opened on March 12, 1951, and a survey of the MS. material available in libraries in India and abroad was undertaken forthwith. The number of MSS. of the Rāmāyaṇa in these various libraries was more than 200, and out of these, after careful scrutiny, eighty-six were selected for collation. Eventually for preparing the critical apparatus thirty-seven MSS. were selected. The oldest is one in the Newari script dated A.D. 1028.

Like that of the Mahābhārata the Rāmāyaṇa text can be divided into two major recensions, the northern and southern. Of the northern the editor distinguishes three sub-recensions: (1) a north-eastern including the MSS. in Nepālī, Maithilī and Bengālī scripts, and some Devanāgarī MSS., (2) a north-western recension including the one Śāradā MS., available, and a number of Devanāgarī MSS. showing the same kind of text and (3) a western recension represented by four Devanāgarī MSS. in the apparatus and eight in the original collation, manuscripts originating either in Rajasthan or North Gujarat. The southern recension is comparatively uniform, and is found not only

in MSS. in southern alphabets, but also in some Devanāgarī MSS. and it is represented by the two main Bombay editions of the Rāmāyaṇa.

Of these two versions, northern and southern, the southern text is considered by the editor to be the most ancient and original, whereas the northern has polished both the form and subject matter of the text. This is perhaps surprising, since for the Mahābhārata the opposite is the case; it is a point on which judgment must be reserved until the mass of the evidence is before us. The text of the critical edition is therefore based primarily on the southern recension, and the principle is stated (p. xxxiv) that whenever these two versions disagree, the southern text is to be preferred, unless a word or passage does not suit the context, or appears to be absurd.

The divergence between the two versions is very considerable, and consequently long passages of the northern recension are printed separately (with their own apparatus) in the body of the apparatus criticus of this edition. It is clear that the two versions cannot be reconciled to the extent of producing a text based on the two. Either the one or the other must be chosen, and the editor has chosen the southern recension. Whether this is the final word may be doubted. The north-western recension of the northern version is attested in the sixth century A.D. (Introd. p. xxxiii) and may well have been current long before that. We must assume, therefore, that it was the text known to the many classical Sanskrit authors of Northern India who drew inspiration from the Rāmāyaṇa. So it will not be permanently satisfactory for the northern text to be consigned to the apparatus of this critical edition; it will always deserve to be edited and printed in its own right. It is the practice, when there are two or more recensions of a Vedic text to treat them individually, without attempting to produce a common text, and I would imagine that in the long run this treatment will be found necessary for the Rāmāyaṇa. When the present critical edition, embodying the southern recension is completed it would be welcome if the Institute were to issue a northern text based on the critical materials here assembled.

In conclusion a few points of detail may be noticed. At l. 9. 15 the critical edition reads :—

ihāśramapado 'smākaṃ samīpe śubhadarśanāḥ  
kariṣye vo'tra pūjām vai sarveṣāṃ vidhipūrvakam

Here we have the masculine instead of the neuter gender for *āśramapada*- and that cannot be allowed even in Epic Sanskrit. In this language un-Paninean forms are found within reasonable limits, but this laxity does not extend to the use of barbarous Sanskrit which is what we have in front of us here. The correct reading of this śloka appears in the north-western version, as follows :—

ihāśramapade 'smākaṃ samīpe śubhadarśanāḥ  
kariṣye 'tithipūjām vaḥ sarveṣāṃ vidhipūrvakam.

If the second part of principle (2) enunciated on page xxxiv had been strictly applied this is what would have been read.

In 1. 2. 21 there are three different versions of the text :—

S. and Ed.	upaviṣṭaḥ kathāś cānyās cakāra dhyānam āsritaḥ
N.E.	upaviṣṭas tatas tasmin babbhūva dhyānam āsritaḥ
N.W.	upaviṣyāsane tūṣṇim dhyānam evānvapadyata

Here again the southern recension contains an obvious corruption since apart from the fact that there is no point in the reference to "other stories" (*kathāś cānyāḥ*), the particle *ca* in this position has nothing to refer back to, and it is absurd that Vālmiki having entered *dhyāna* should be telling tales. The original text is preserved in the N.E. version, since it is easy to see how *tatas* might give way to *kathāś* by mechanical corruption. On the other hand the N.W. version is a good example of the "polishing" referred to in the introduction. A few other obvious corrections to the text printed may be noted. In 1. 8. 22 read *ānīto 'varṣayad devam* for *ānīto 'varṣayad devaḥ*, in 1. 9. 14 *nāmakarma* (as a compound word) instead of *nāma karma* (two words), in 1. 5. 13 *ḍurgagambhīraparikhām* instead of *ḍurgagambhīraparighām*. Here also the alteration made is demanded by the editorial principle already quoted. In 1. 2. 11 the readings fluctuate between *ceṣṭamānam* and *veṣṭamānam*, with the common confusion of *v* and *c*, the meaning being "writhing". Most editions have read *ceṣṭamānam* and this is what appears in BR in this and parallel passages. *veṣṭate* can only be attested elsewhere in the sense of "wind oneself round something (as e.g. a creeper)", a sense inapplicable here, whereas *ceṣṭ-* produces exactly the right sense required in the passage, so that there seems no reason at all for preferring the second reading as the critical edition has done in contradistinction to most previous editions.

While criticism can be offered on such points of detail, no fault can be found with the general plan and execution of the work. The critical edition will form the basis of all future work on the *Rāmāyaṇa*. We look forward to its successful and speedy conclusion.

T. BURROW.

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THE COINAGE OF THE GUPTA EMPIRE. By A. S. ALTEKAR, Corpus of Indian Coins, Vol. IV. pp. xvi + 390 and 29 plates. Numismatic Society of India, Banaras Hindu University, 1957.

Numismatists and historians alike will welcome this, the first published volume of the Indian Numismatic Society's project for a Corpus of Indian Coins. It is a useful and thorough compilation which illustrates all the main varieties, noting and discussing the important new material that has come to light since Allan's Catalogue was published in 1914. Its layout, however, could have been improved

in a number of ways. The constant alternation between text and catalogue, unrelieved by any distinctive fount of type, is rather irritating and not easy to follow. The coin varieties are not numbered consecutively in the catalogue and it will be difficult to give concise references to them. The use of conventional numismatic abbreviations (e.g. *Æ* for silver) and a tabular representation of recurrent details like weights, diameters, collections cited and earlier authorities would have saved much repetition. The Society, in short, is to be congratulated on its excellent project, but could improve its future volumes by following more closely the example set by recent numismatic catalogues such as Mattingly and Sydenham's Roman Imperial Coinage.

D. W. MACDOWALL.

INDIA'S DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH THE WEST. By B. A. SALETORÉ, pp. xvii + 430, 4 illustrations, 2 maps. Bombay. The Popular Book Depot, 1958. Rs. 25.

This book purports to be a history of India's diplomatic theory and relations with the ancient western world. Although very little new ground has been broken concerning diplomatic theory, it is a useful compilation of missions sent to and from India. Perhaps in view of its title too much emphasis has been given to Greek and Roman politics instead of Indian.

While the Sumer-Akkadians, as Dr. Saletore calls them, Hittites and Assyrians undoubtedly had a highly developed system of diplomacy, it is only a conjecture that the origins of the science of diplomacy and of diplomatic relations had their roots in those countries (p. 7). Diplomacy of a sort has to be practised in all relations of communities, even tribal ones. The Indus valley civilization appears to have been a fairly well developed urban theocracy, which would certainly not make the politics of Mohenjo Daro "contemporaneous" with those depicted in the *Rg-Veda* (p. 16). Vedic tribes were largely at war with each other, a condition favourable for the development of diplomacy, and to assert that the Vedic age "was devoid of political vicissitudes which could afford diplomacy much chance of development" (p. 17), seems to ignore such references as *Rg-Veda* 1.53.9, in which twenty kings were allied against a common enemy. The *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* (viii. 26) speaks of kingdoms paying homage to another king, perhaps an indication of overlordship. It is to be regretted that Dr. Saletore did not give more space to diplomacy in pre-Mauryan India rather than move quickly to Kauṭilya. Perhaps the activities of Vassakāra, Ajātaśatru's minister, in the tribe of the Licchivis might also have been mentioned.

Dr. Saletore seems intent on proving how noble and ethical ancient



India was in treating ambassadors (*dūtas*) while Greece and Rome were rather barbaric. He suggests that the dangers of the *dūtas* mentioned in the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya were not really typical of ancient India.

Though on page 33 he equates *danḍa* with war, he wonders on page 59 how *danḍa* can even be equated with a "threat of war", suggesting instead the meaning "force" or "punishment", which, although certainly correct, does not preclude *danḍa* meaning "war" in certain contexts.

A lengthy recital of Alexander's campaigns is given and his diplomacy exhibited as ethically far below that of the Indians. The chronology of the Mauryas is discussed and an interesting analogy is drawn between the ethics of Aśoka and those of the Stoics.

The latter part of the book deals with Roman and Greek battles with little mention of India. Near the end, India is brought back into the picture in its relations with Greece and Rome and important contributions are made by Dr. Saletore to our understanding of this subject.

There are many misprints in addition to the list of errata and a rather confusing index system has been used. The book is, however, generally well written and a significant contribution to this particular field of study.

JOHN W. SPELLMAN.

INDIA IN THE TIME OF PATAÑJALI. By B. N. PURI, pp. xvii + 260, 7 plates, 1 map. Bhartiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, 1957. Rs. 20.

From evidence found in Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya* written in the second century B.C., Dr. Puri has constructed rather successfully a picture of ancient Indian society at that time. Patañjali was trying to explain the Sūtras of Pāṇini and the Vārttikas of Kātyāyana, and his references to social and political life were by way of grammatical illustrations.

In the early part of the book the frequency of quotations from other writers makes it difficult to distinguish Dr. Puri's work from that of his colleagues or indeed to ascertain what conclusions he draws after citing these other authors.

Though there are no references in the *Mahābhāṣya* to a covering for the upper part of the female body, Dr. Puri prefers to believe that the *paṭa* was used (p. 104). But more probably women were usually not clothed from the waist up. References in the *Kāmasūtra* of Vātsyāyana appear to indicate this quite clearly. The iconography of the period seems to substantiate this view and indeed we believe that this semi-nudity prevailed over a long period in Ancient India. In the *Tirtha-yātrā* of the *Vāna Parvan*, the legend of Rṣyaśṛṅga indicates the same view.

In the discussion of Vedic gods (*agnir vā ito vṛṣṭim itte maruto 'mutas cyāvaṇantīti*) (p. 180) "*maruto*" is certainly plural and indeed the Maruts are regularly discussed in the plural in Vedic literature.

But this is a solid piece of historical research and welcome as a very useful volume on life in ancient India as depicted in the *Mahābhāṣya*. An excellent bibliography has been appended. One could have wished that format were of the same standard as the contents and that the title and author's name were not missing from the cover.

JOHN W. SPELLMAN.

THE FRENCH IN INDIA, 1763 to 1816. By S. P. SEN, D.Litt. pp. xvii + 621. Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay, Calcutta. 1958. Rs. 25, 50 sh. net.

Dr. Sen, already known for his valuable study of the early years of the French Company in India, has now added a twin, as it were, in the form of a study of the French in India after the Seven Years War. His starting point, as he says, is where most people leave off their interest in the French in India. He is clearly fascinated by things French, the language, the culture and the personalities. But this does not affect his detachment or his judgment; his involvement in Gallic mystique does not hinder the application of a cool critical judgment of French men and actions or obscure an awareness of their failings and mistakes as well as of their virtues. Dr. Sen would seem, in fact, to have applied something of a clear French logic to his study. This, combined with a concise expository style, has enabled him to carry his abundant learning with ease and charm.

The detailed study of what some may regard as historical byways is often dismissed as the fad of a too cloistered scholar or the foible of the affluent dilettante. Really there are not so much byways in historical studies as branch streams, which, like the channels of the Ganga delta, take off, intermingle and re-connect, providing new glimpses and unexpected insights into the whole complex of waters. This is what Dr. Sen does continually in this book, thus making it of value to the general historian as well as to the specialist. Thus we see the connection between the fall of Pondicherry in 1761 with the spread of French influence over India and obtain many sidelights on the interaction of French internal politics and external policy with Indian affairs. For all those concerned in eighteenth century India this book is one of great interest; for those concerned with French influence in all its aspects in India and not merely with the Anglo-French struggle, it is invaluable.

PERCIVAL SPEAR.

ASSENTOS DO CONSELHO DO ESTADO. Vol. IV (1696-1750). DOCUMENTOS COORDENADOS E ANOTADOS. By PANDURONGA S. S. PISSURLENCAR. pp. xiv + 722. Imprensa Nacional, Goa, 1957.

This is the concluding volume of a most useful series, the previous volumes of which have been reviewed in this *Journal*. Among the most interesting subjects in this volume are the vicissitudes of Portuguese relations with the celebrated "pirate" (or "patriot") Khonaji Angria; boundary disputes with the English at Bombay; and the hard-fought Maratha campaigns of 1737-39, which wrested Bassein and the "Province of the North" from the Portuguese. There are also some curious details over the desirability (or otherwise) of encouraging mixed marriages between Portuguese men and Indian women (pp. 292-4); and the use of East African negroes as sailors in homeward-bound Indiamen (p. 470). There are prolonged echoes of the unedifying quarrels over the Confucian Rites and the Portuguese Crown Patronage in China (pp. 223-36, 270-72, etc.), and numerous notices of relations with Persia and of the maritime struggle with Oman. In the appendices the editor has included a number of translations of letters sent to the Viceroy and Secretary of State by neighbouring Indian potentates, several of which are illustrated. Unlike most Portuguese works, this one is properly indexed. The editor deserves our warmest thanks for making these interesting documents of the years 1618-1750 available to all those who can read Portuguese.

C. R. BOXER.

### Buddhism

THE FOOTPRINT OF THE BUDDHA. By E. F. C. LUDOWYK. pp. 182, 31 plates. London, George Allen and Unwin, 1958. 30s.

This charming and well produced book commences with a chapter on the legends and traditions that have accumulated around Adam's Peak, the sacred mountain of Ceylon, on which, it is believed by tradition, is impressed the footprint of the Buddha himself. Hence the reader is led to an outline of the origin of Buddhism in India, the Aryanisation of Ceylon, the introduction of Buddhism into the Island, and the history of Sinhalese culture down to the time of Parākramabāhu I, in the twelfth century A.D. An epilogue briefly continues the story down to the fall of the kingdom of Kandy.

The author, formerly Professor of English in the University of Ceylon, admits his ignorance of Pali, and does not claim to write for the scholar. He has, however, had the advice of his former colleagues, and the work contains no serious inaccuracies. It is written with deep affection in beautiful English style, and, with its lovely plates from original photographs by Ina Bandy, is a work of art both from the literary and visual

points of view. It will not be of great value to scholars who will perhaps forgive Professor Ludowyk his rather uncritical acceptance of the stories of the *Mahāvamsa*, which often appear to be rather intended for entertainment and edification than written as accurate accounts of events. The general reader, who desires some understanding of the art and culture of early Ceylon, will find the book both delightful and instructive.

A. L. BASHAM.

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BUDDHIST HIMALAYA. Travels and studies in quest of the origins and nature of Tibetan Religion. By DAVID SNELGROVE. pp. xii + 324, 40 plates, 2 maps. Oxford, Cassirer, 1957. 35s.

From the main title of this book, in bold capitals on the dust-cover, the reader might expect another traveller's account of his adventures. Without disparaging this class of literature we believe that Dr. Snellgrove has written something far more valuable than a traveller's tale in this scholarly and sympathetic study of Tibetan and Nepalese Buddhism, illuminated and enlivened by references to his own experiences in Sikkim, Nepal, and the borders of Western Tibet in 1953 and 1954.

Written with deep affection and understanding, the book covers much ground in an erudite but easily intelligible manner. In its six main chapters it contains a brief history of Buddhism in India, a general review of the chief doctrines and practices of Tantric Buddhism, a study of the degenerate Buddhism of Nepal, an account of the early history of Buddhism in Tibet, a survey of the legends concerning early Tibetan Buddhist teachers, and a description of modern Tibetan Buddhism in theory and practice, a little misleadingly entitled "Tibetan ceremonies". The work is the product of a rich fund of knowledge derived both from close and friendly contact with Buddhist monks and laymen of the Himalayan region and from long study of texts in Tibetan, Sanskrit, and Chinese. There is no better general survey of the Buddhism of this school.

The student approaching the subject from the direction of Burma or Ceylon, however, may feel that some of the author's remarks suggest special pleading. Thus on p. 224 we are told that it is not true that Tibetan Buddhism has abandoned the teachings of early Buddhism except "in so far as the rather crude philosophical notions of the *abhidharma*-texts are concerned". There has been a development in the "basic philosophical conceptions", but this "has in general tended towards greater clarification of the aim of religious practice, which has remained essentially the same". Later on the same page it is said that "the basic beliefs about the nature of existence and the nature of man have remained practically unchanged". This is perhaps largely true, but gives a false impression. In many other respects, as well as in

*abhidharma*, Tibetan Buddhism differs from that of the Pāli Canon—for instance in the doctrine of the transference of merit, the practice of complicated ceremonies and magical rites, which Aśoka so strongly condemned, the hierarchy of lamaism, and the pantheon of heavenly buddhas, bodhisattvas, and other deities. The latter are not to be explained away as mere lay figures, devised to help forward the spiritual progress of the less advanced believers; and even Dr. Snellgrove admits that many Tibetan monks look on these deities as "more than mere supports for meditation as allowed by orthodox belief" (pp. 278-9). Rightly or wrongly the Buddha Amitābha has become one of the most widely worshipped divinities in the world, with Avalokiteśvara, or his Far Eastern feminine counterpart Kwan-yin, a close second. Religion is far more than theology or mystical philosophy, and in practice the difference between Theravāda and Tibetan Buddhism is much greater than that between Calvinism and Roman Catholicism, which at least have their primary texts in common. Dr. Snellgrove is right to stress the continuity in the development of Buddhism (pp. 52-3), but the profound differences between its various branches should not be overlooked, even though it may be possible to deduce all the main features of Mahāyāna and Vajrayāna from those of the oldest Buddhism we can reconstruct.

A few historical inaccuracies relating to India must be noted. Magadha became the centre of the first Indian empire in the fourth, not in the third century B.C. This region does not correspond approximately to the modern Bihar, but only to that part of Bihar State south of the Ganga and east of the Son, around Patna, Gaya and Rajgir. We know of no record of the followers of Islām penetrating as far as this in the eleventh and twelfth centuries; it is probable that the raids of Muḥammad Bakhtiyār did not begin until the first year of the thirteenth. (All these errors are on p. 2.) The words of Aśoka in the Bhabru Edict, *Keci bhamte bhagavatā buddhena bhāsīte sarve se subhāsīte vā*, must surely mean "all that was spoken by the Buddha was well spoken", and not, as Dr. Snellgrove twice states, "All which is well spoken is the word of the Buddha" (pp. 50, 276). That "in India kings were never regarded as divine beings" (p. 57) is not clear to us, in view of explicit statements in the lawbook of Manu (vii, 4-8) and elsewhere. "Rāhula (god of the eclipse)" is certainly not "a Hindu divinity of the first rank" (p. 79). In Hinduism Rāhu, not Rāhula, is thought to cause eclipses, and he is a *daitya* or demon, not a *devatā* or divinity. An elementary error is the reference to "the destruction of the great monastic centres at the hands of the Moghuls" (p. 51). The Turks sacked the great monasteries of Bihar over 320 years before Bābur's invasion.

Our criticisms and corrections in no way qualify our general admiration of Dr. Snellgrove's very valuable work, which is excellently produced, well illustrated, and, for a publication of this kind, reasonably priced.

A. L. BASHAM.



## Islam

SNOUCK HURGRONJE, C. Selected Works of, edited in English and French. By G.-H. BOUSQUET and J. SCHACHT. pp. i-xxi + 1-299. E. J. Brill, Leiden. 32.50 guilders.

The work of Snouck Hurgronje is well known in this country, particularly from English translations of his books on Mecca and on the Acehnese, so that these renderings of ten essays by one who "with Goldziher was the founder of modern Islamic studies" will be very welcome, even though some of the views are dated. Dr. Bousquet provides a short but interesting biography of Hurgronje who was born in 1857 and died in 1936. All but one of the essays are from the *Verspreide Geschriften*.

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LA NOTION DE LA *MA'RIFA* CHEZ GHAZALI. By F. JABRE. Institut de Lettres Orientales de Beyrouth, Vol. VIII. pp. 207. 1958.

In theology *ma'rifa* denotes man's knowledge of God. For Ghazali *ma'rifa* is a complex demanding the joint action of intellect, feeling and will, all working together from the start. It begins with the recognition that there is a God, the creator, and an after life. From this beginning the religious life passes through many stations (a technical term of sufism); God is seen to be the one reality and the sole actor in the world; gratitude for His goodness, patience under His guidance, hope of heaven and fear of hell combine to refine the believer till these elements are sublimated. Patience becomes joyous acceptance of the divine will, heaven and hell are forgotten in the hope of abiding in the presences of God and in fear of His displeasure, gratitude becomes love which is the core of *ma'rifa*. Ghazali is careful to safeguard the transcendence of God, repeating, "the highest *ma'rifa* is the confession that God cannot be known." There are only three ways to direct knowledge of God, inherence (*ḥulūl*), union (*ittiḥād*) or close connection (*wuṣūl*) and none of these are open to man; even the greatest saints know God imperfectly as though they saw Him through a veil. The favourite image to describe man's knowledge is the mirror which takes on the colour of the object reflected. On earth there can be nothing like the vision of God in the hereafter.

Three texts are fundamental to Ghazali's thinking; "God made Adam in His image; the spirit is of the providence (*amr*) of God; to know oneself is to know God." The first was explained in two ways. The image belongs to God, it is the image of the universe which He created, the macrocosm to which Man, the microcosm, corresponds. The second is that Man is the image of God by the spirit; if man knows himself as made alive by the spirit, as the universe in miniature, he

knows God because his powers have the same names as God's and are in mysterious accord with them. Man finds the road to this knowledge long though guided by the experience of Muhammad to whom the knowledge was given in a flash. However far the believer advances he can never identify himself with God; there is no place here for Hallaj and his like. The road is a purification; first the cleansing of the body which suggests the cleansing of the heart. This is obtained by performance of the religious duties, especially prayer, and then by supererogatory prayers and duties while resisting all evil impulses and desires. But all this is only a beginning; God reveals Himself only to those who "practice the presence of God". The usual interpretation of Ghazali's language is that what has gone before is knowledge of behaviour (*mu'āmalā*) whereas knowledge of revelation (*mukāshafa*) cannot be spoken of; Dr. Jabre calls all his subject matter knowledge of revelation though in one or two places he notes that Ghazali would not speak of some matters.

In many ways this ascent of the soul is like Neo-Platonism but differs from it by not allowing Man to be swallowed up in the deity. The volume contains a bibliography, glossary and a selection of texts from Ghazali's writings.

A. S. TRITTON.

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KITĀB AL-TAMHĪD. By AL-BĀQILLĀNĪ. Ed. R. J. MCCARTHY, S.J.  
pp. 46 + 438 + 13. Beyrouth, 1957. (Publications of Al-Hikma  
University of Baghdad. Kalām series, No. 1.)

Some years ago an edition of the *Tamhīd* was published in Egypt from one MS.; this book is based on three, and is widely different. The former edition contains little more than half of the *Tamhīd* but has a section on the imamate which is a separate work and therefore omitted here. The set-up is good and the print clear though a number of letters have dropped out. The indices look imposing and are very useful but have been made rather mechanically. Thus son of David and Solomon are separate entries. There is a cryptic reference to God's *sultān* but the word does not occur in the index though a parallel would have been useful, if there is one. The text itself is disappointing. The author states his own beliefs as self-evident and often dismisses the opinions of his opponents as baseless assertions. The facts which he uses to prove that God creates the deeds of men are used by Ibn Hazm to show that they are done by men. His method of argument is to draw extreme conclusions from his opponents' opinions and to claim that if they do not accept his conclusions, they contradict themselves and if they do accept them, they have cut themselves off from religion. Often one feels that he has set up an Aunt Sally for the pleasure of knocking it down. A

favourite argument is : " If this is true of some, it is true of everything similar ; which can be shown to be absurd." Nazzām taught that the spirit not the body was the real person ; this is twisted into the statement that no one ever saw the Prophet. Ma'mar said that God was the maker of speech ; this becomes the affirmation that He has no speech.

The book contains the usual subjects, theory of knowledge, the existence of God, His attributes, the prophet, the Koran, a miracle, providence and religion. Between these are chapters on Brahmins, Christians, dualists, Jews, star-worshippers and others beside dissident Muslims. He confirms what Rāghib al-Isfahānī said of theologians " they have no sense of literature ". The Koran speaks of God's face, hands and eyes ; therefore, He must have them though they are parts of body and He is not body. That " hands " is dual is proof that it is not to be taken metaphorically. This is like the man who would not call God " creator " because the Koran uses the word in a bad sense of men " who create lies ". The Bible is quoted and misquoted : " I was before the world, I was with God when He spread out the earth, I was a boy playing in front of God," is not a bad paraphrase of part of Proverbs ch. 8 but it is applied to Solomon. Again, " My Lord, if it be Thy will to turn this cup from anyone, turn it from me." Bāqillānī knew of several similes used to elucidate the incarnation, the mixture of water and wine, the impression of a seal in wax, the word dwelling in the temple of the body, the word becoming flesh and, oddly, the reflection of a face in a mirror but he regards them all as statements of dogma and therefore laughs at them. In his discussion on the Brahmins the only question is the mission of prophets. One wonders which of them recognized Abraham as a prophet. The discussion of causality reminds one of Hume and it is said that moral commands are not absolute because what is right for a healthy man may be bad for a sick man. Some said that sinful Muslims would be punished in hell but Bāqillānī argued that faith outweighed all sins except the worship of more than one God so that the penalties fixed in the Koran for certain offences were not punishments but trials. God cannot be everywhere for that would mean that He was in unworthy places. The argument that God is not body runs thus ; a body is a collection of parts, God is not a collection therefore He is not body. Bāqillānī cannot conceive a disembodied spirit although he is emphatic that a body cannot act. Spirit is thought to be a tenuous body dispersed through grosser matter. God can create injustice though He cannot act unjustly ; He is absolute monarch and is above justice. Many arguments are drawn from the Koran, as is natural ; even 'arad (accident) is derived from it (*sūra* 8,67/68) in Bell's translation " ye intend the chance gains ('arad) of this world ". Bāqillānī was not a mere follower ; he brought order into his master's thought. We can believe that he was formidable in controversy.

AVICENNA, HIS LIFE AND WORKS. By SOHEIL M. AFNAN. pp. 298.  
George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London, 1958. 30s.

Dr. Afnan begins by describing the translations from Greek into Arabic and discussing some leading philosophers before Avicenna, his purpose being to indicate the forces active in Baghdad in the Abbasid age. He next discusses the revival of Persian in the tenth century, giving some account of literary men, physicians and philosophers. Then comes a general account of Avicenna's life and works, in the course of which he points out that Avicenna was the originator of Persian philosophical language. Separate chapters are devoted to Avicenna's contributions to logic, metaphysics, psychology, religion and medicine and the natural sciences. Finally, two chapters discuss his influence in the East and in the West.

The various aspects of Avicenna's writings are treated in masterly fashion. As is only to be expected, the subject does not make for easy reading, but Dr. Afnan has presented the main points of the different subjects in orderly fashion and proves himself to be a good guide. He shows how, while Avicenna had his critics and often serious opponents. "He succeeded in reaching the head, if not the heart, of a large and distinguished group in both the East and West." In conclusion, he says Avicenna "constructed the most complete philosophical system that the Islamic world was to have", and suggests that "the importance of Avicenna today lies more in the problems that he poses than in the solutions he offers". A useful bibliography is appended.

JAMES ROBSON.

### Miscellaneous

RUSSLAND UND DER MESSIANISMUS DES ORIENTS. By E. SARKISYANZ.  
pp. xii + 419. J. C. B. Mohr, Tübingen. 1955.

The argument of the book is that there is a close likeness between the popular religion of Russia, Islam, Hinduism and Buddhism. The first believes in the value of poverty, the sacramental character of the ruler and the coming of a golden age. Islam emphasises the next world and hopes for a mahdi who will fill the world with righteousness as it is now full of evil; and Hinduism and Buddhism both look forward to a golden age on earth. Some Buddhist subjects of Russia even regarded the czar as a Boddhisatva. To the Russians the universe was a harmonious whole, Islam boasts that it keeps the balance between the claims of this world and the hereafter and in Buddhist Burma the state was a microcosm of the universe. When events shattered the harmony and disturbed the balance, they created a void which Bolshevism filled.

With the breakdown of the state in Russia, the Bolsheviks caught the imagination of the people with the promise of a good time coming and it is to be feared that they will have a like success in Asia where prominent Buddhists have announced that Bolshevism is not incompatible with Buddhism. For much of the book the author has had to rely on secondary sources; for Islam, the sources have been used wisely and the author is careful to indicate where news of the latest developments is scanty, or unreliable or both. It seems that some Muslims regard Lenin as an incarnation of 'Ali. A most interesting book.

A. S. TRITTON.

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LA MUSIQUE DU CAMBODGE ET DU LAOS, Publications de l'institut français d'indologie, No. 9. By ALAIN DANIELOU. pp. ix + 32. 28 half-tones and numerous line-drawings. Institut français d'indologie, Pondichéry (1957).

The title of this pamphlet misleads, for the contents concern instruments rather than music. The text includes no musical examples (other than scales) and adds little to previous studies of the instruments. The brief bibliography is rarely referred to, and many questionable statements are made unsupported by authority. It would be interesting to know the "fortes raisons" for thinking that the mouth-organ (*khène*) has been imitated by the Chinese. Again, the statement that giant lithophones have been one of the sacred elements of imperial ritual "dans toute l'Asie" is, as it stands, untrue.

M. Daniélou's view of the varieties of seven-note equal temperament as persistent vestiges of the heavenly *Gandhara-grama* seems to belong to a past era of interpretation of the cultural evolution of South East Asia. If, as the non-musical evidence suggests, there has been a partial resurgence of pre-Hindu cultural features, it is likely that resurgence has occurred conspicuously in the field of musical culture. For though instruments wander readily, musics are among the less modifiable of cultural traits. With the exception of Buddhist chant, it is improbable that the more intimate features of the musics of this area derive from Indian models.

The brief comments on the music include some doubtful generalizations: for example, that there is no modulation in the pieces for the *pi-phat* band. Phra Chen Duriyanga's brochure on Thai music includes examples of modulation, however, as do the Siamese melodies published by Seelig and the Cambodian melodies of Tricon and Bellan. It is further stated (p. 30) that the scale of the *khène* is seven-note; but four out of five "usual scales" illustrated on p. 10 are five-note.

A rare opportunity might perhaps have been put to better use.

LAURENCE PICKEN.



THE GENERALSHIP OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT. By Major-General J. F. C. FULLER. pp. 319. Eyre and Spottiswoode. 35s.

This book, written with General Fuller's wide knowledge of military history, and his usual lucidity, describes the career of a hero rightly regarded as one of the supreme fertilizing forces in history, whose best known military achievement was probably his tactical use of cavalry in battle. The author's own knowledge of military tactics enables him to refer to many other battles of historical interest. For the facts of Alexander's invasion, and the routes he followed, he has rightly relied on the writings of William Tarn and Aurel Stein, which have on many points confirmed the account as presented by Arrian, excellent war correspondent as he was, and the Latin writer Quintus Curtius wrote several hundred years after the event. The figures of the numbers engaged, and still more those of the losses incurred, as estimated by General Fuller, are therefore largely conjectural. For one decisive battle, that of the Hydaspes, General Fuller appears not to have used the excellent account written by Sir James Abbott (himself one of the Paladins of the Punjab and well acquainted with the locality) which appeared in the magazine of the Bengal Asiatic Society in 1848. The whole of this battle seems curiously similar to Arthur Wellesley's victory at Assaye; certainly the charge of the 19th Light Dragoons at that battle could stand comparison with the charge of Alexander's famous "Companions" at the Hydaspes battle.

No account of the battle remains from the Indian side. Alexander's invasion of India was an episode rather than a conquest. Alexander indeed deserves full credit for his prevention of looting by his soldiers who were rewarded in its place by gifts of money rendered available by the success of the fighting. Often as Alexander's name is mentioned in Asia, there is no memory in Northern India of his invasion. What remembrance there is in the north western area of Graeco-Bactrian culture and comes from the rule of the Achaemenid kings.

In an epilogue to his book the author attacks the policy of Sir Winston Churchill in World War II, though his connection with the generalship of Alexander the Great is not apparent.

P. R. C.

## OBITUARIES

### SIR JOHN MARSHALL

Sir John Marshall, Director General of Archæology in India from 1902 to 1931, died on 17th August, 1958 at the age of 82. After the deaths of his friends and colleagues Foucher and Vogel, he was the last surviving European scholar to have devoted his life to Indian art and archæology. We whom circumstances have made observers and critics rather than planners and doers cannot but envy him his good fortune as a pioneer. He was 26 when he left for India, and the following thirty-two years were marked by a tireless energy and devotion. It is extraordinary what he accomplished. The work of conservation alone entailed so much administration and paperwork that it is astonishing that he found time for his long series of excavations, his detailed and prompt reports, and his personal research.

The period up to the First World War was occupied with organization of the Archæological Department, conservation of Islamic monuments, and excavation and conservation on Buddhist sites in Gandhara and Bihar, of which perhaps Sarnath was the most important. In 1913 Marshall began work on Taxila, which occupied him off and on for twenty years. From 1922 to 1927 he excavated at Mohenjodaro ; the results, among the most fruitful in the archæological investigations of this century, were published in 1931 in three great volumes. The publication of his book on Taxila was unfortunately delayed by the Second World War and it did not appear until 1952. Marshall considered this his best work ; it was certainly nearest his heart. But some may think Sanchi his finest monument. The stupas and temples on the lovely hill were restored with the greatest care and taste, and Marshall's publication on it (1940) in three volumes with the help of his friends Foucher and N. G. Majumdar remains the only definitive description of any great Indian historic site. Another perfect work is his "Monuments of Muslim India" in Volume III of the *Cambridge History of India*—a brilliant summary, which needs little revision even after a lapse of twenty years.

Marshall's work has often been compared with that of his great predecessor, Cunningham. Cunningham was indeed almost a genius and his intuition was remarkable, but he had not to engage in the vast

administrative struggles of the twentieth century. Marshall took these in his stride, and, I think, none of our Indian colleagues, many of whom were his pupils, would deny that the Archæological Department is what it is to-day through the care and foresight of his early planning. Some have criticized his methods of excavation. Marshall was too philosophical and critical to think that any method had absolute validity or that any work of his was done once and for all. He was himself courteous and generous especially to younger men. Though aware that his achievement was no mean one, he shared his generation's distaste for "window dressing".

Marshall devoted his life to India, and loved the country and its people. The Governments of India and Pakistan recognised his devotion by making it possible for him to continue his work in his retirement. The fruit of their wise generosity is his last book, "Buddhist Art in Gandhara," now in the press.

DOUGLAS BARRETT.

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#### ARSHAK SAFRASTIAN

Arshak Safrastian, for many years a member of the Society, died on 25th September, 1958, at the age of seventy-two. A specialist in Armenian studies, he had in later years interested himself in Urartian and Hurrian themes. Much of his work appeared in Armenian language periodicals; but he was editor of the Armenian monthly *Massis*, published in London between the wars, and in that journal he provided in English many useful summaries of contemporary Armenian research. He wrote on "Armenian History" for the 14th edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* and, in 1948, published a short book, *Kurds and Kurdistan*. His more scholarly work in English included a paper on "The Hurri-lands" in *Georgica*, 4/5 (1937) and "The Land of Hurri in the Armenian Language and Literature" read at the XXI International Congress of Orientalists in Paris in 1948. His *magnum opus* in English on the Hurri runs into several hundred pages of typescript and is the result of many years of research. It is hoped that this work may be published.

Arshak Safrastian was born in the ancient city of Van, of a large and patriarchal family engaged in farming and trade. Before the First World War he was H.B.M. Acting Vice-Consul in Bitlis. During 1915-16, he served in an Armenian unit of the Russian

Caucasian Army. In 1919, when just over thirty, he was nominated a member of Nubar Pasha's delegation to the Peace Conference in Paris. Afterwards, Safrastian settled in London, where he lived for nearly forty years, an active and lively participant in the affairs of the Armenian community and an assiduous reader at the British Museum. He had many English friends who remember him with affection for his resolute courage, his unflagging devotion to scholarship and his cheerful, happy spirit. This man of farming stock from an almost biblical background had moulded out of the vicissitudes of his life an inner harmony which he irradiated in a harassed world. He was a very great human being.

W. E. D. ALLEN.

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#### KOREA BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

The latest volume of the *Transactions* of this Society is devoted almost entirely to a paper by the Rev. Richard Rutt on the Sijo, a form of Korean poetry hitherto not described in English. Applications for the *Transactions* or for membership of the Society should be addressed to the Corresponding Secretary (Colonel A. E. E. Mercer), British Embassy, 4 Chong Dong, Sudaemoon Ku, Seoul, Korea.

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 Kyoto : Library Otani University.  
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Lahore : Superintendent of Archæology.  
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 Leiden : Brill.  
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 Madras : University.  
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 Munster : Stenderkoff.  
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 Nagoya : University.  
 Nagpur : The University.  
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 Nanking : Miss Ko Kai-chu.  
 Nanking : University, Dept. of History.  
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 New Delhi : Department of Archæology.  
  
 New York : Columbia University.  
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 New York : N.Y. Public Library.  
 New York : Union Theological Seminary.  
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 Nicosia : Esad Zeine.  
 Nijmegen : Firma H. Tan Hoet.  
  
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 Osaka : Nurato Chubei.  
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 Palermo : G. Bonfanti.  
 Paris : Bibliothèque Nationale.  
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 Paris : École des Langues Orientales.  
 Paris : Institut de France.  
 Paris : The University of Sorbonne.  
 Paris : M. T. Waller.  
 Patiala : University Trading Co.  
 Patna : College.  
 Peiping : Academia Sinica.  
 Peiping : A.S., Institute of Economics.  
 Peiping : A.S., Institute of Information of Social Science.  
 Peiping : A.S., Institute of Linguistics & Philology.  
 Peiping : A.S., Institute of Medieval History.  
 Peiping : A.S., Serial Publications Dept.  
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 San Francisco : Public Library.  
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 Seattle : Washington Univ. Library.  
 Shajahanpur : Gandhi Faizam  
 College.  
 Shanghai : Mr. Djou Shu Ching.  
 Shanghai : Shanghai Library.  
 Simla : Panjab University Library.  
 Singapore : Principal, Teachers'  
 Training College.  
 Singapore : University of Malaya.  
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 Teheran : British Council.  
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 Washington : Catholic University of  
 America.  
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 Administration.  
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 Wisconsin : Milwaukee Public  
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# THE LEGEND OF DEVĀPI<sup>1</sup>

BY JOHN W. SPELLMAN

THE LEGEND OF Devāpi, which occurs in several early Indian sources, raises numerous issues relating to Devāpi's character, his right to the throne, his reasons for not exercising that prerogative, the unfortunate consequences of his brother Śantanu's accession, and the rectification of those consequences.

A reference to Devāpi occurs for the first time in Sanskrit literature in *Rg Veda*, x, 98. This hymn invokes the god Bṛhaspati in his various forms to cause Parjanya to send rain for Śantanu. Devāpi is stated to be the chief priest (*purohita*) of Śantanu acting in the office of *hotṛ* and he may have been successful before in rain-making. The hymn relates that Devāpi was the son of Ṛṣiṣeṇa, but does not confirm that he was the brother of Śantanu or that he wrote the hymn.

Either Devāpi did not write the hymn which Yāska attributed to him<sup>2</sup> or we must accept the suggestion of Sieg<sup>3</sup> and MacDonell,<sup>4</sup> supported by Geldner<sup>5</sup> that the first four verses of the hymn are a dialogue between Devāpi and Bṛhaspati, which is the only satisfactory explanation to account for the vocative *Devāpe* in the second verse and for the dual (*yāyā vṛṣṭīm Śāntanave vārāva*) in the third.<sup>6</sup>

Yāska's comment on this is, "Devāpi, son of Ṛṣiṣeṇa, and Śantanu, belonged to the race of Kuru and were brothers. Śantanu, the younger, caused himself to be installed as king, while Devāpi betook himself to fervid austerity. Then the god did not send rain for twelve years of Śantanu's reign. The Brahmins said to him: 'Thou hast practised unrighteousness because passing by thy elder

<sup>1</sup> I am much indebted to Professor A. L. Basham for assistance with this article and encouragement to publish it.

<sup>2</sup> *Nirukta*, ii, 10.

<sup>3</sup> Sieg, *Die Sagenstoff des Rgveda*, Stuttgart, 1902, 138.

<sup>4</sup> *JRAS.*, 1894, pt. i, 25.

<sup>5</sup> *Der Rgveda*, HOS. 35, vol. iii, 1951, 309.

<sup>6</sup> There seems, however, no good reason for Sieg's translation in v. 4 of *Indra dehy ādhiratham sahāśram* as "gieb (also) O Fürst, tausend samt dem Wagen" for, although Devāpi may have been a prince, there is no precedent in Sanskrit literature for equating Indra with "prince" and here no necessity.



brother, thou hast had thyself installed as king. That is the reason why the god does not send rain.' So Śantanu sought to invest his brother with the sovereignty, but Devāpi said to him : ' Let me be thy *purohita* and perform sacrifice for thee.' "

The genealogy of Devāpi is still a matter of controversy although nearly always Pratīpa is recorded as his father. The Rg Vedic tradition which makes Ṛṣiṣeṇa his father seems a misinterpretation of Devāpi's introduction into the Ārṣiṣeṇa gotra.<sup>1</sup>

If Devāpi was the eldest son of Pratīpa, then under the law of primogeniture regularly followed in ancient India, he was entitled to the throne unless good cause could be shown to the contrary. According to Yāska, Śantanu had sinned and was clearly in the wrong in usurping the kingdom. It was only after Devāpi rejected the kingship and became *purohita* for Śantanu that the god Parjanya's anger abated and rainfall came—twelve years after the sin had been committed.<sup>2</sup>

In any case, *Rg Veda*, x, 98, must be a very late accretion to the *Samhitā* if Śantanu was the grandfather of Dhṛtarāṣṭra and Śantanu's brother Bāhlika and his great-grandson Bhīṣma fought in the Bhārata war about the ninth or tenth century B.C. Yāska, probably writing between 500 and 700 B.C., cannot claim final authority on this legend.

The irregularity of Śantanu's succession is again recognized in the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, where a rather different version of the story occurs. There having fallen no rain for twelve years, Śantanu summoned the Brahmans to find a remedy. They told him that he had married as it were before an elder brother, being king in enjoy-

<sup>1</sup> See Bhargava, *India in the Vedic Age*, Lucknow, 1956, 92. An opposite view is given in Pargiter, *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, London, 1922, 165. But the striking similarities in all the legends make it unnecessary to postulate the existence of two separate Devāpis. MacDonell believed Ārṣiṣeṇa was a dissociation in a late stage of the myth since the *Śalyaparvan* speaks of him as an eminent Ṛṣi. *JRAS.*, 1894, pt. 1, 27.

<sup>2</sup> The frequent occurrence of the number twelve in ancient Indian literature suggests to me that there may be a symbolic as well as numerical meaning here. It appears to have some relation to sin or expiation of sin much as the number forty in the Bible, e.g. Noah's forty days and nights in the ark, Christ's forty days and nights fasting in the wilderness, etc. In the story of Samvarāṇa (*Mbh.*, i, 160, 31 ff., critical edition), after the king violates principles of good kingship, no rain falls for twelve years. Rain is intimately related to the *dharma* of the king and it would seem there is some connection with the number twelve in this scheme of symbols.

ment of the earth,<sup>1</sup> and that the kingdom belonged to Devāpi until the gods should be displeased with him. Hearing this, Śantanu's minister, Asmarīśarin, sent a number of ascetics into the forest, where Devāpi had been since childhood, to teach the simple-minded prince doctrines contrary to the Vedas. After this, Śantanu went to inform Devāpi that, according to the Vedas, succession to the kingdom was the right of the elder brother. But when Devāpi argued against this and other Vedic precepts, the Brahmins invited Śantanu back, saying: "This man is fallen from his state, for he has uttered words of disrespect to the authority of the eternal, uncreated Veda; and when the elder brother is degraded, there is no sin in the prior espousals of his junior." Śantanu returned to his capital and rain fell.<sup>2</sup>

Here, even though tricked, it was through Devāpi's own wickedness that he lost a kingdom, which he had no desire to claim. Certainly the heresy that prevented Devāpi from becoming king was a disqualification for kingship at various periods and this story may date from an age when Brahmanic pretensions were very high and heretical sects such as Buddhism were strongly opposing them.

The *Ādi Parvan* makes no mention of the conflict, but simply has Devāpi enter the woods as a hermit while still a boy, because he wanted to benefit his brothers.<sup>3</sup> But this was not correct procedure, since, according to the doctrine of *varṇāśrama*, Devāpi should have gone through the other stages of life first. Though that doctrine was an ideal perhaps rarely achieved, it would seem that no one who violated it should be held up as an example. Śantanu inherited the kingdom.

In the *Udyoga Parvan*<sup>4</sup> is yet another variation. Here Devāpi is depicted as the paragon of virtue loved by everyone. But he had a skin disease (*tvagdoṣa*) interpreted as leprosy (*kuṣṭha*) in most later versions, so that Brahmins and the aged objected when Pratīpa made preparations to install him as king, saying: "The gods do not approve of a king defective in a limb." Pratīpa yielded

<sup>1</sup> This is a reference to the idea in Indian political theory that the relationship of the king to his realm was as a husband to his wife. For this sin of Śantanu, see *Manu*, iii, 171 f. Professor J. Gonda has very authoritatively discussed this issue in his monograph "Ancient Indian Kingship from the Religious Point of View", *Numen*, iii-iv, 1956-7. Dr. J. D. M. Derrett has also made an interesting contribution in *BSOAS.*, vol. xxii, pt. 1, 1959, 108 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, xx (Wilson's trans.), 457 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Mbh.*, I, 89, 52-3 (critical edition).

<sup>4</sup> *Mbh.*, v, 147, 15 ff. (critical edition).

to their objections and Devāpi retired to the woods to save his father from further sorrow. Bāhlika went to live with his maternal uncle and, with Bāhlika's permission, Śantanu inherited the kingdom. The *Matsya Purāṇa* and *Vāyu Purāṇa* give essentially the same reason for Devāpi's inability to succeed to the throne.<sup>1</sup>

The author of the story in the *Byhad-devatā*<sup>2</sup> seems to be aware of other conflicting legends and attempts to tie them together. Bāhlika, the middle brother, is not mentioned. Devāpi, son of R̥ṣiṣeṇa and elder brother of Śantanu is afflicted with leprosy and therefore rejects the kingship offered by the people on the death of his father and asks them to make Śantanu king. When Devāpi retires to the woods, the god Parjanya sends no rain for twelve<sup>3</sup> years. Śantanu goes with his subjects (*prajā*) to him in order to remedy the wrong, but Devāpi again protests his unfitness for kingship and offers to sacrifice for Śantanu. He is appointed *purohita*, sacrifices, and rain falls.

It is very unusual that a leper should be allowed to sacrifice to the gods and one would have thought that his disease would have disqualified Devāpi from religious ceremonies. Sufferers from skin diseases were not even allowed to attend *Śrāddha* rites.<sup>4</sup> One wonders, too, how he could have become a *purohita* of the gods—especially after impeaching the Vedas.<sup>5</sup>

Of all the variations on this legend,<sup>6</sup> which is the oldest? Although there is no clear answer, evidence would seem to indicate the leprosy version. The *Mahābhārata* emphasizes this theme and it is included in the *Purāṇas* which have worked over epic sources. But the *Purāṇas* also add the heresy idea ignored by the *Mahābhārata*. Yāska lived about a century before Plato and his *Nirukta* is based largely on previous legend much as Plato's *Cratylus*. From the very slim evidence of *R̥g Veda*, x, 98 (undoubtedly very late) and early legends later incorporated in the *Purāṇas*, Yāska constructed his story. The latest version appears to be that of the

<sup>1</sup> *Matsya P.*, 50, 38-46. In this *Purāṇa*, Devāpi is stated to be leprous (*kuṣṭhīn*). *Vāyu P.*, 99, 234-240.

<sup>2</sup> vii, 153-7; viii, 1-7.

<sup>3</sup> Some manuscripts read one hundred. See MacDonell, *HOS*, vol. 6, 294.

<sup>4</sup> *Manu*, iii, 150 f.

<sup>5</sup> *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, ix, 22, 12, 18.

<sup>6</sup> There are others beside the ones we have indicated here, but they deal with the ascetic powers of Devāpi and his acquiring Brahmanhood and are to be found primarily in the *Mahābhārata* and the main *Purāṇas*. Since they do not concern political aspects, we are not dealing with them here.

*Brhaddevatā* which makes an attempt to synthesize both Yāska and the variations in the *Mahābhārata*.

The evolution of power concepts in society would also seem to indicate that physical disability appears earlier than religious heresy as an impediment to sovereignty. It was the physical disability of blindness that disqualified Dhṛtarāṣṭra from the throne and led to the great Bhārata war. Since the prosperity of the realm was a projection of the *dharma* and health of the king, it was necessary to have a healthy and virtuous ruler. On these grounds our writers felt they could best explain the disqualification of Devāpi from the throne.

# THE COSMOLOGICAL ASPECT OF INDONESIAN RELIGION

BY H. G. QUARITCH WALES

THE COSMOLOGICAL ASPECT of religion, and the application of cosmic symbolism to religious architecture and social organization, were discovered relatively late, so that the attention rightly directed to the subject in recent years has engendered a tendency to over-estimate its importance in Asian thought. Fortunately this has not escaped the notice of critics. The cosmological aspect of the ziggurat is now recognized to have been secondary.<sup>1</sup> Further, with regard to Indian culture, Prof. A. L. Basham has uttered this timely warning: "It is hardly likely that the complex cosmic symbolism of the Vedic sacrifices was elaborated until long after the sacrifices themselves came into being. Similarly the cosmic symbolism of the Hindu temple seems to us to be a comparatively late and artificial growth, of far less significance than some authorities are inclined to attribute to it. The symbolism seems to have been somewhat esoteric, the preserve of schools of learned men who specialized in trying to explain every aspect of life by this means. We believe that for the early Indian man in the street it was of far less significance than might be believed from the emphasis which some modern students place upon it."<sup>2</sup> In the present article I shall try to redress the balance in the case of certain non-Islamized peoples of Indonesia, an undertaking which in view of some recent publications seems to be needed.

The Ngadju Dayaks form the largest population group of South Borneo. On the basis of the first-hand studies of Hardeland,<sup>3</sup> much of whose material has been conveniently summarized by Kruyt,<sup>4</sup> and has been supported by later workers, it appeared that we possessed, before it was too late, a comprehensive, if by no means exhaustive, knowledge of Ngadju Dayak religion. At any rate there seemed to be no doubt as to its general character, in

<sup>1</sup> André Parrot, *Ziggyrats et Tour de Babel*, Paris, 1949, pp. 204, 214.

<sup>2</sup> Prof. A. L. Basham, *JRAS.*, 1958, p. 96, in review of J. Auboyer, *La Vie Publique et Privée dans l'Inde Ancienne*, Fasc. vi, Paris, 1955.

<sup>3</sup> A. Hardeland, *Versuch einer Grammatik der Dajackischen Sprache*, Amsterdam, 1858; *Dajacksch-Deutsches Wörterbuch*, Amsterdam, 1859.

<sup>4</sup> A. C. Kruyt, *Het Animisme in den Indischen Archipel*, The Hague, 1906. A more recent valuable study is J. Mallinckrodt, "Ethnografische Mededeelingen over de Dajaks in de afdeeling Koelakapoëas," *Bijdragen*, 80-1, 1924-5.

briefest outline as follows: Mahatala, the sky deity, and Jata, the earth deity, together are responsible for the creation, and of the two Mahatala is supreme. Largely an otiose god, he could be approached in case of dire need, but only after every effort had been made to enlist the help of the *sangiangs*, these being active atmospheric-gods and helper-spirits. The cult is shamanism, in the strict sense. The shamans, both male and female, who have undergone an initiation, call their helper-spirits, who do not "possess" the shamans, nor is there "possession" by ancestors. The shamans communicate with their helper-spirits in a special language, and when in trance, journey in the *sangiangs'* boats to recover the souls of sick persons, or to accompany the souls of the dead at the *tiwah* feast to the afterworld, which at least for the upper class was in the sky. Tempon Telon, the chief *sangiang*, acts as psychopomp on these occasions. The Cosmic Tree, used in séances, and at the Feast of the Dead, and shown on representations of the shaman's boats, has been recognized as having the same function as the Siberian shaman's Cosmic Tree, the axis by which they go in spirit to the sky. That strict shamanism, together with the recognition of a supreme sky deity, not of course unmixed with animism and ancestor worship, characterizes the Ngadju Dayak religion, receives support from the fact that the same religion has been established by careful observers as characteristic of certain other Dayak peoples, notably the Ot Danum and Manyan Dayaks, close neighbours of the Ngadjus, and also the Sea Dayaks of Sarawak.<sup>1</sup> Furthermore Kruyt's thorough investigations of the East Torajas of Celebes,<sup>2</sup> suggest that, before the coming of Indian influences, shamanism closely comparable to the Siberian and Central Asian model must have been widespread in South-East Asia. Noticing how greatly this religion differs from that of the Neolithic period in the region, I came to the conclusion that this shamanism and the cult of sky deities is likely to have been brought in with the Bronze Age (Dongson) culture.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Archdeacon J. Perham, in H. Ling Roth, *The Natives of Sarawak and British North Borneo*, London, 1896, vol. i: That the Sea Dayaks practise strict shamanism, the *manangs* never being possessed by spirits, is confirmed by their latest investigator, Dr. J. D. Freeman, in a private letter to me dated 10th November, 1958.

<sup>2</sup> N. Adriani and Alb. C. Kruyt, *De Bare'e spreken de Toradjas van Midden Celebes (de Oost Toradjas)*, Amsterdam, 1951.

<sup>3</sup> H. G. Quaritch Wales, *Prehistory and Religion in South-East Asia*, London, 1957, Ch. III.



With the characterization of Ngadju Dayak religion above outlined, the late Dr. H. Schärer's *Die Gottesidee der Ngadju Dajak in Süd-Borneo* (Leiden, 1946), does not at first sight seem easily reconcilable. True the title suggests that the work is limited to the "conception of God", but the author insists (pp. 6-8) that this is the central theme on which the understanding of Ngadju Dayak religion depends. Again, the author acknowledges the existence of a popular religion ("Volksreligion"), presumably that which has been established by previous investigators, though this is not explicitly stated, but we are told that this popular religion would give us only a superficial view. We must probe beneath, he says, to get the full meaning. We must study the quite separate theological system which is to-day unknown to the laity and also to many priests. Only thus shall we gain an understanding of the central theme, the conception of God, which runs as a red thread through the whole culture and religion.

So the author leaves no room for doubt as to the prior importance he attaches to this "Gottesidee". This attitude is definitely recognized by J. A. J. Verheijen when he says: "It is my intention—in contrast to Dr. H. Schärer in his *Die Gottesidee* . . .—to give a picture of the present-day Manggerai [West Flores] belief concerning the Supreme Being, and especially as it lives with 'the plain man of the street'."<sup>1</sup> Important Schärer's work certainly is, though not exactly in the way he supposed. And incidentally his intensive study brought to light or clarified some points on the popular religion. It was in connection with these that I made a few references to his book in my recent *Prehistory and Religion in South-East Asia*. To deal with his whole theme there I realized would have involved too great a digression; it had to be postponed for consideration as part of another study. In undertaking this now I must begin with a summary of Schärer's work and conclusions. This will provide the material on which to base a critical analysis.

The author first makes known his opinions as to the theories of primitive religion in general (pp. 4-6): He is opposed to evolutionism, remarking that the phenomena called animistic occur in all religions. They should not be considered in isolation, but rather are understandable as parts of a whole, in the light of the central

<sup>1</sup> J. A. J. Verheijen, S.V.D., *Het Hoogste Wezen bij de Manggaraiers*, Vienna, 1951, p. 4.

theme of primitive religion. He denies that the Ngadju Dayak Supreme Being is otiose, and at the same time he rejects "original monotheism". The reasons for his views emerge clearly enough as we proceed. His sources are the myths and priestly songs, in the special priestly language, and also the *'adat*, or divine law, which is in ordinary language. We must follow the author in using the words "priest" and "priestly" in this summary, for there is no mention of shamanism.

The names of the chief deities are then discussed (pp. 15-18). There were always two of these, so no question of "monotheism" arises. There is the God of the Upperworld, whose indigenous name is Tingang = Hornbill, also known as Prince of the Sun. Mahatala, which we may use here for convenience, is a Hindu adoption from Majapahit times, but implies no foreign influence beyond the name. The Deity of the Underworld has the indigenous name of Tambon = Watersnake or Naga, and the Hinduized name of Jata, which we shall employ here.

Mahatala lives on the primeval mountain in the sky (p. 19), reached through forty-two cloud layers, and the Upperworld is an image of this one, only much better. Jata lives in the Underworld, or primeval water, under man's world (p. 20). The entrance is near villages at the deep junctions of streams, and the deity's village is on the Underworld river. But in the Creation Myth the homes of the two deities are not considered as geographically separate: they are both placed in the Upperworld, one on a Jewel Mountain, the other on a Gold Mountain. They are there considered more as one deity than as a duality.

This brings us directly to the conception of the Godhead (p. 21). Mahatala and Jata are two distinct deities, and on many occasions are invoked as such, but are then immediately treated as a unity. This is very clearly shown in the Creation Myth; also in rites where they are referred to as "The Naga who is united with the Hornbill, the Naga who is also the Hornbill". Also the phrase "King of the Sun, King of the World" shows this unity. It is significant not only for the religion, but also for the whole culture, which in every way shows both totality and ambivalence. The Total Godhead [or High God] is Naga and Hornbill, Upper- and Underworld, man and woman, good and bad, life and death, war and peace, health and sickness, etc. Similarly the Cosmos shows ambivalence: sun and moon, upperworld and underworld, etc. In the social organiza-

tion there are two groups, as we shall see. This conception of the total/ambivalent Godhead is the leitmotif of Schärer's book, at the end of which he offers an explanation as to what this Total Godhead is. Here at the outset he insists that this unity has not evolved from a duality, for the sources indicate that the unity was always a duality, and vice versa.

Beneath Mahatala and Jata are various good and bad spirits, of which the more important are five in number (pp. 22-6). They are not independent, but are representatives, or rather personified aspects, of the two chief deities. Some are associated with Mahatala, who is good and the creator, and some with Jata who is bad and the destroyer. Yet just as the deities are ambivalent, so each of the higher spirits can bring mankind both good and evil. The high spirits show the unity of good and bad, life and death, etc., which are associated with both the deities. At the same time there is an antagonism between them which shows itself clearly in the Creation Myth and in social life.

The two deities are not represented as anthropomorphic (pp. 27-8) but as the symbolical animals, Hornbill and Naga. These are depicted as forming a totality with the Cosmic Tree on the *sanggaran* post erected at the Feast of the Dead (*tiwah*). Only the high spirits are anthropomorphic. The deities' homes are represented by a stone or stepped pyramid for the primeval mountain, and by a coconut shell for the primeval water. Mahatala's emblem is a lance, Jata's is a cloth.

The most important myth, at any rate from Schärer's point of view, is the Creation Myth. It is long and complicated and was known only imperfectly before his publication (Ch. 6). He gives a full translation, as well as a summary and analysis, of which I shall try to reproduce the essentials.

Before the creation there were only the two mountains, the Gold Mountain and the Jewel Mountain, seats of the chief deities. These mountains came together six times, making each time the clouds, sun, and moon, etc., and on the seventh occasion Mahatala's gold head-dress. That ended the first period of creation. Then Mahatala and Jata made the hills and rivers of the Upper- and Underworlds. That closed the second period. There were as yet no men or any world for them to live on. Mahatala then started the third period of creation. He raised his head-dress and out of it issued the Tree of Life with gold leaves and ivory fruit. Now Jata manifested

as a female hornbill and Mahatala as a male one. She saw the Tree in the distance, flew to it and began to eat its fruit and buds. The male bird also flew to it and began to eat the moss on it, but when he saw that the female was eating the fruit he was overcome with envy. A fight broke out between them. The male hornbill broke off the buds and fruit and they changed into a gold boat. The knots were cut off by the female bird, and from them issued a young woman. She got into the gold boat and floated on the primeval ocean. The strife between the birds, that is to say between Mahatala and Jata, continued, and from bits of the Tree the rivers and lakes of the Upperworld were formed. From the stump of the Tree, all that was left of it, issued the jewel boat, also floating on the primeval ocean. The male bird now cut the female bird's throat and from it there fell moss, from which a young man issued. He got into the jewel boat.

Soon the two boats met. The young man saw the young woman and his heart yearned for her. She agreed to marry him, but not until he could provide a home for her on dry land. They remained in their boats and the young man grieved because there was nowhere to land. Mahatala saw the trouble and created an island, supported by the Naga who, as Jata, had planted padi. The two birds continued to fight until they were both killed and their bodies became rivers. The young man, seeing the island, was pleased because the young woman could no longer refuse to marry him. However, she demanded a house first. Again seeing the difficulty, Mahatala let seven gold planks fall on the island from which Jata built a house. The couple married and lived in the house, naming their village Batu Nindan Tarong. They had three sons: Maharaja Sangiang, Maharaja Sangen, and Maharaja Buno. As a result of a quarrel these separated. Maharaja Sangen remained in the original village, his descendants including the *sangiangs* and other good and bad spirits, representatives of the ambivalent total Godhead. Maharaja Sangiang settled on the Sangiang River in the Upperworld, as ancestor of men in the Upperworld, and Maharaja Buno settled in our world as ancestor of men here. Evidently Maharaja Sangiang represents the upper class of men, Maharaja Buno the lower class. Maharaja Sangen's village is not only the original village, but the totality of all villages, and he is the Total Godhead and Society, and is also ambivalent. Man comes from the Godhead, lives in the Godhead, is the Godhead, or an aspect of it (p. 43).

Schärer notes (p. 36) that Jata's part in the creation is important but subsidiary, she being regarded as the sister or wife of Mahatala. The emphasis is on Totality as the creating Godhead, symbolized by the Tree and by Mahatala's head-dress. The author illustrates two representations of the Tree expressive of this Totality; and one of them shows children falling from it to the tribal parents standing below. In the Totality the Hornbill is also the Naga, and vice versa. In the cult this ambivalence also appears (p. 39) when the Hornbill is shown with the scales of a Naga, and the Naga with feathers. The Tree is the total/ambivalent Godhead or Cosmos. The creation is the holy fight between Mahatala and Jata, in which they destroy the Tree and so also themselves. But from the destruction and death the Cosmos and new life are born: the creation arises from the dead Totality. This sacred fight is found throughout the religious life, in birth, initiation, wedding, and death, as well as in the legal procedure. The new creation and new men arise from destruction and death.

Just as children are depicted on one Tree representation, preserved in the Leiden Museum, as falling from its branches, so the Ngadju Dayaks are the descendants of the Tree of the Total Godhead. They live in accordance with the holy order. We can go a step further, says Schärer: "The people are the total deity itself, and they show in their totality and structure the conception of the deity and its ambivalence. The people are also the Cosmos and consequently show the cosmic dualism" (p. 44). The Ngadjus no longer have a tribal organization, this having broken down long ago, but there is evidence of its former existence. Thus there are separate groups, which once formed such an organization and still figure on important religious occasions, especially the *tivah*. These are as follows (Ch. 7):—

A. The upper or rich group: Its members are always spoken of respectfully in the myths. They are good and beautiful, not only physically but also morally. Their position is partly derived from birth, partly from initiation. They possess the godly gifts and maintain world harmony. They are rich and have the leading places in the community. They are brave, and physically and mentally well-adjusted. Their children are brought up for this status, which can be lost by marriage to the lower group, or by bad behaviour. This involves not only social but also religious degradation. They are the Sun Men, associated cosmically with the Sun,



and they represent Mahatala and the Upperworld. This upper group is an aspect of the Total Community, and of the Total Godhead, the Upperworld aspect. They can be considered as identical with the mythological group of Maharaja Buno, who is the reflection of one group of the Total Community.<sup>1</sup>

B. The lower or poor group: These are the freemen, as they are called in the sources. They are known by names which show them to be considered ugly and morally bad. In the mythology their blood is considered different, and they have only a part of the holy gifts. This distinction causes rivalry and mistrust. They are poor, but there are many exceptions who, however, lack the "real" wealth, the most valuable gongs and holy vessels. They are discriminated against in law. They usually live below the village, a cosmic distinction. They are the agricultural workers and must do much for the rich group. Some of them become priests. They are the Moon or Naga men, clearly associated with the Underworld, and probably with the mythological group of Maharaja Sangiang.

There is further a group of slaves, perhaps of relatively recent origin, and also a group of outcast practitioners of black magic, to neither of which need we devote attention, since they have no social or religious status. However, the slave group now produces many of the priests, an important group requiring our careful consideration.

The priestly group consists of priestesses (*balian*) and priests (*basir*). "They are links between men and gods and also between the mythical groups of Maharaja Buno and Maharaja Sangiang. They take part in all the big religious rites of the whole community, though belonging to neither group. In the Upperworld they have their own village of the dead" (p. 64). The *basirs* are hermaphrodites. They are called to their profession by the *sangiangs*. "Cosmically classified they stand between the Upperworld and the Underworld. Further they are Upperworld and Underworld together, Mahatala and Jata, Maharaja Buno and Maharaja Sangiang. They are the total/ambivalent Godhead and represent this Totality in the community. In ritual they are referred to in the priestly songs as 'the Naga who is also the Hornbill', showing

<sup>1</sup> In this and the next paragraph the roles of Maharaja Buno and M. Sangiang seem to have been erroneously transposed, since it has been previously stated that M. Sangiang was associated with the Upperworld group. Cf. Schärer's statements on pp. 39 and 43, also text of Myth, p. 218.



that they represent and are the bisexual Godhead and Total Community" (p. 66). Their sacred prostitution on ceremonial occasions does not show a loosening of custom, but a return of the universe and of the whole community into the Cosmic Tree. The priestly group's totality represents the mythical group of Maharaja Sengen who dwelt in the original village between his two brothers' villages. And in intercourse with the Godhead and *sangiangs* they go back to the original village.

"The people can in their being, their existence, and their social structure only be understood through the conception of God. They are grounded in the Total Godhead. They are the reflection of this ambivalent and bisexual Godhead. Their social, economic, ethico/religious, and cosmic aspects represent the different groups which, at a time when the tribal organization was not yet weakened, probably were different phratries (hornbill, naga) and different clans. In their totality the holy people are the holy, total, and ambivalent Godhead" (p. 67).

The true home of man is regarded as being the original village Batu Nindan Tarong, where the three mythical groups lived in the care of the Godhead, and to die is to go back there. But now they are in this world and the tribal organization is lost, while its centre is just the local village. However, this village is regarded as the centre of the whole divine cosmic order and represents the social and cosmic totality. At the same time there is a dualism in the village, the upper and lower sections, inhabited by the two groups. At feasts the priest sounds the gong first up-stream and then down-stream, following the sun. "The holy land is the land of the Total Godhead. It was not only created and maintained by the deity, it is the Godhead itself and represents the totality of Upperworld and Underworld, of Mahatala and Jata. Man lives not only in the divine land, not only in the peace of the Godhead, he lives actually in the Godhead, for the holy land is a part of the Tree, it was created from Sun and Moon, which flank the Tree, and which issued from the Gold and Jewel Mountains, also from the Total Godhead" (p. 76).

The theological interpretation of the dwelling-house, states Schärer, applies in the first instance to the houses shown on the sacred drawings, but must also apply to the ordinary houses. On these religious drawings there are always two houses, one standing on each side of the sacred Tree, which forms the mid-point of the

village. These houses differ architecturally, but we need only mention the chief differences : The roof of one of them is crowned by an umbrella, with a cock on one side and a hen on the other, while its upturned eaves represent hornbills' heads. The house is shown over the earth, with its pigs and oxen, carried on the back of a naga. The house is divided into a higher level room and a lower verandah. The roof represents the primeval mountain, on which Mahatala is enthroned as the umbrella = Cosmic Tree. The cock and hen represent the two hornbills on the Tree. Thus the house is the Tree and therefore the total/ambivalent Godhead. Its division into room and verandah shows its totality and ambivalence. However, this kind of house represents the Upperworld aspect of Totality. The second kind of house has a vaulted roof which represents the Naga, ending with head and tail. It is crowned with a flag representing the total cosmos, but various details, such as fish and open net beside it, show that the house is intended to represent the Underworld aspect. Thus the houses on the sacred drawings are not two ordinary houses, but are each an aspect of the house in its godly/cosmic totality.

The *adat* is the divine order or harmony, comparable to Chinese Tao or Vedic Rita, which having been given at the creation is known as the Creation Order. The Ngadju Dayak is brought up to live in accordance with it, for it is by living in harmony with the divine order that brings human welfare. In the songs and myths the man is known as hornbill or falcon and is compared with the sun. Cosmically and totemically, states Schärer, he belongs to Mahatala and evinces the aspect of the Tree associated with him. Lance and dagger connected with the Tree are (according to Schärer) the totem-emblems of Mahatala and of the social group associated with him. So they are also of man and this means that man is lance and dagger, and also that he is hornbill and the sun. It further means that he is the Tree in its Mahatala aspect, for in lance, dagger, hornbill, and the sun he unites himself in the Tree with Jata as ambivalent Totality.

Woman, on the other hand, is known as naga or moon. She is the Tree in its Jata aspect, and also is Jata herself, for she bears her names and emblems, such as the holy cloth. "Man and woman are not only two different aspects of the Tree, they are also the two deities and therein lies their divinity and holiness. They are not only two aspects but also the Totality, for man and woman are

not only the products of the total/ambivalent Godhead, but also of Total Society. They were produced from the representatives of both groups, who on one side are associated and identical with the Upperworld and Mahatala, and on the other side with the Underworld and Jata. . . . Their totality and ambivalence plays an important part at death and the Feast of the Dead, and especially in the guidance of the dead to the village of the dead. Since man represents Totality, both social groups are concerned in getting him to his destination. The Naga group bears the body, for body comes from the primeval water, while the Hornbill group brings the soul to the village of the dead, since the soul comes from the Upperworld. Generally the *sangiang* Tempon Telon does the guiding. He is the total Godhead and total Society in his function of soul guide. The transport of the two parts of the dead is done on two different boats, the Hornbill boat and the Naga boat, or on one boat which, with its hornbill and naga heads, shows it is the totality of the two boats. So goes man as the Total Godhead back into the Total Godhead" (pp. 88 f.).

At all the transitions, marked by birth, initiation, marriage, and death the creation drama is re-enacted, as will be considered later. Here we note the following points: The time for weddings is the two months "between the years". Before a wedding the couple ritually die by bathing in the river in which in former times there was mixed the blood of a slave sacrificed as their substitute. At the wedding ceremony they clasp a representation of the Cosmic Tree to indicate their union with it prior to issuing from it to begin a new life. The marriage is the repetition of the creation of the first human pair from the Tree, and in their union they are also the Total Godhead. Birth is represented as coming from the Tree. The custom of *couvade* is explained by the belief that the couple together bear the child. The birth room is the primeval ocean, from which comes new life. At initiation rites the holy bath signifies going back into the Godhead whence life is renewed. The boat taking the young person to the ritual bath has the form of a naga. Tattooing a young man with the Tree indicates oneness with the godly/cosmic Totality of the Tree, and so also with the Godhead.

The most important stage of life is death, for it represents not the loss of life but the return to the divine world and the social and divine oneness of the mythical primeval time. It is the entry upon a new and true existence. "The coffin has the form of a boat.

But it is not only a boat, and it serves not primarily for the journey of the dead to the village of the dead, and the journey over seas and rivers. We do not find the explanation there. The coffin is not only a boat, it is also Hornbill and Naga. The Hornbill coffin is appointed for dead women, the Naga coffin for dead men [*sic*]. The sides of the boat are decorated with a painted or incised liana, representing and called the Tree of Life. The whole coffin is ornamented with coloured points, which represent gold and jewels and have the same meaning as the gold and jewel mountains of the mythical primeval time. With the coffin are the totem emblems: for a woman a cloth, for a man the blowpipe and sword. What particularly does the coffin signify? It is Boat, Tree, Godhead, and primeval mountain. It represents, one may say, the Creation Myth. The two boats are identical with the two boats in which the first couple floated on the water of life. They have the same names. They are also identical with the Tree (*liana*), for they issue from it and are also the Tree itself. They are also the Godhead, for the total Godhead is indeed the Tree. Lastly they are also identical with the two primeval mountains, whose coming together produced the head-dress of Mahatala, out of which issued the Tree. The coffin is the cosmic/divine Totality of the primeval time . . ." (p. 105).

"The coffins and other important matters show us clearly that the dead fall into two categories, one associated with the Upperworld and the other with the Underworld. This division cannot, as we have already seen, be only on a sexual basis, but must connect with the divine and social division. We cannot speak only of woman's and man's coffins, for the two kinds must earlier have belonged to the two groups, one of which was connected with the Upperworld and used the hornbill, and the other with the Underworld and used the naga. This agrees with the fact that in the myths the dead of the Upperworld group change into mythical falcons and those of the Underworld group into mythical snakes" (p. 106). This is supported by the aerial burial of the upper group and the ground burial of the lower group members. "Despite this division, which also plays an important part during the conveying of the deceased at the Feast of the Dead, the oneness is much more stressed to-day. The dead go back into the mythical primeval time, into the godly Totality, and into the original village Batu Nindan Tarong" (p. 107).

The holy year, which is also a world period, ends with the harvest.

Then follow the two months known as the "time between the years". Some weeks are then devoted to the Harvest or New Year Festival. It has a deeper meaning than is thus implied; it is the end of a creation period, when man not only goes back from the fields into the village, but also goes back into the mythical primeval time and to the beginning of being. He goes back into the Tree and divine Totality and lives in it. At the great festival, after the end of the world period, or old year, the creation is repeated and the whole Cosmos renewed. "Man is during this time the ambivalent Godhead and ambivalent Tree, and man remains so until the repetition of the creation, the renewal of the world, until the division of the groups out of the Tree and the renewal of the whole worldly, cosmic/divine and social order" (p. 109). At the high point of the feast there takes place the sexual orgy, which is no breach of *adat*, no return to "primitive promiscuity", but the union of Upperworld and Underworld, of Mahatala and Jata, in personal and sexual wholeness and oneness.

Schärer then devotes considerable space (twenty-four pages) to recognition of the same divine concepts in the administration of justice. In addition to noting the prior importance of Mahatala (p. 115), who visits his displeasure on the village by sending bad weather (p. 112), we need mention only the following points from the author's conclusions (pp. 134 f.): Divine judgment concerns the whole society, though the group representing the Upperworld is undoubtedly to the fore. Here also there must be a re-enacting of the sacred events, since the restoration of harmony disturbed by a breach of *adat* is possible only through the repetition of the creation and the renewal of the whole Cosmos. In the two groups opposed in the law case the whole community is concerned, and the judges are the representatives of the Total Godhead. A gong is placed between the contending groups and the holy lance is erected which as at the marriage ceremony represents the Cosmic Tree. The opposing groups are identical with the two birds on the Tree, and their fight is a repetition of the struggle between the two birds. Valuable goods are destroyed. The most important part of the proceedings is a wordy battle, waged with passion, in which the grossest abuse is not lacking. Victory is deemed to go to the side that makes the most telling speeches (p. 114). This holy conflict ends with self-destruction, that is to say the killing of the guilty or of a sacrificial slave, in either case a substitute for the



total community. The conflict is thus ended and the creation repeated, since out of the struggle comes not nothing or chaos, but the Cosmos. Harmony is restored, and man can now begin a new life as a new man in a new Cosmos and a new Society. The legal procedure can only be understood in relation to the primeval events and the creative activities of the Total Godhead, for it is their repetition and dramatization.

We need not dwell on the next section (Ch. 9) in which the author shows how a man enjoys health so long as he lives in harmony with the Total Godhead, how certain talismans are the gift of Jata, others of Mahatala. Also, since the Godhead is not only good but also evil, certain aspects of the Godhead, personified by evil spirits, bring sickness, but they can also bring a return to health. More illuminating is the next chapter, "The holy service," for it brings us really to the kernel of the whole study. This holy service is nothing less than the repetition and dramatization of the primeval sacred events. It can be performed to cure a sick person, for the expulsion of evil, but most fully when the whole Cosmos has been destroyed and the creation has to be repeated on a full scale. This is at the year's end, after a serious sin, or following the death of a freeman. The service described in detail by the author is in connection with the Feast of the Dead (*tiwah*). When a free Dayak dies he goes back to the Upperworld, and the cosmic order is destroyed. Destruction and death lie like a fog over the world. Man goes in darkness, for the eyes of God are no longer upon him; the approaches to Upperworld and Underworld, to gods and ancestors, are closed. Life is uncertain and any false step can bring death. No ordinary work is done, only the collection of the necessary offerings. This done, the freeing from the evil can be undertaken. The time has come when the Naga emerges from the primeval water, and Mahatala looks down from the primeval mountain and contemplates the Tree.

"The Tree bears fruit, for it is primeval time, creation time, and the gods now reign. The Hornbills spread their wings and await only the invitation, the rising incense and the beat of drum and gong. The community chooses one of the elders to open the festival, invite the priests and priestesses who will lead the holy service and carry out all the rites. Messengers having been sent to them, they arrive singing and shouting in richly decorated boats. They land at the village plaza and begin to beat the drums. They first



bend earthwards and the sound goes to the Underworld. Then they move in a circle, beating their drums, first to sunset, then down-river, then up-river, and lastly to sunrise. After they have called Jata, they move from sunset to sunrise, from sickness to health, from death to life. The whole Cosmos, which has been called by the priests to take part in the service, closes in to co-operate " (pp. 148 f.).

What has been said about these *balian* and *basir* will be recalled, how they represent and are the total community of mythical times and the Total Godhead. They must be summoned by the *sangiangs* to their profession, proof of such call being that they have had a psychopathic disturbance. Their significance is based not on their own power, but entirely on their having been called by the *sangiangs*. Without this, neither knowledge of the lore nor drumming to produce ecstasy would be of any avail. "At the beginning of the rites the *sangiangs* incorporate themselves in *balian* and *basir*, for the holy service is not a matter of man but of the Godhead, for whom man serves only as tool and appearance form. The chief *sangiang*, representative of the Total Godhead, enters the chief *balian* and his helper enters the assistant *balian* " (p. 151). Three, five, seven, or more may take part. The entry of the *sangiangs* into the *balian* and *basir* is referred to as their embarking on their *bandong* boats, the officiants being likened to boats and also regarded as the wives of the *sangiangs*. The representations of the *sangiangs*' boats show them as hornbill or naga boats, or as a combination of the two. "During the holy service the head *balian* represents the total creator Godhead and functions as such. She wears the sacred head-dress out of which the Tree of Life issued, and girds the dagger out of which came the male hornbill. Through these emblems and through the incorporation of the Godhead she herself is the Godhead. During the holy service she uses with her assistants the language of primeval times, spoken by the Godhead and the *sangiangs* " (p. 152).

It is to be understood that in earlier times the whole tribe took part, or at least its chief representatives, but now only the neighbouring villages. They form the two ritual groups, Naga and Hornbill, which act as a Totality, being known as the Hornbill who is also the Naga. They represent the social, religious, and cosmic Totality, and have the emblems as well as the names of the Total Godhead. Those invited come in richly decorated boats,

loaded with food and other contributions to the feast. Some wear masks to represent the ancestors, so that the whole community, living and dead, take part. As these guest boats draw near, the villagers' boats, manned with masked men, put off. After a mock fight, during which they seize the masks of the opposing party, they return, and the guests can land. Behind a series of barricades at the entrance to the village a symbolical Tree has been erected. At each barricade valuable objects, such as cloth, gongs, holy vessels, etc. symbolizing the Tree's fruit, are heaped up. An elder from among the guests, armed with a sword, advances to the barricades, is ritually sprinkled with cock's blood, and proceeds seemingly or actually to destroy the collected valuables. Then the Tree itself is destroyed, and the two hornbills must now die. This final act was symbolized by the sacrifice of a slave, representing the Total Community. Thus is the creation repeated and the Cosmos renewed. So will it be until the world period (year) again ends, or there is a death or a great sin—for then the Tree has grown again and bears fruit.

Now to consider the dead. They are taken to the village of the dead by Tempon Telon, representing the Total Godhead. He takes first the soul, then the body, both being reunited in the afterworld by being bathed in the water of life. But the earlier view is preserved in the myths, where the dead become falcons and snakes, which agrees with the cosmic, religious, and social dualism, and refers to their afterlife in the Upperworld or Underworld villages of the dead, according to their group. At the *tirwah* the remains are burnt and put in the *sandong* (bone-house), placed on poles or on the ground, up or down river, according to the Upperworld or Underworld association of the deceased's group. Nowadays there is thought to be only one village of the dead (for good people of both groups) situated on the edge of the Upperworld, not one in Upperworld and another in Underworld as formerly. But the old concept of Totality is preserved since the village of the dead is depicted as resting on both Naga and Hornbill. The wooden figure and stone erected for the dead [despite a probably megalithic basis]<sup>1</sup> are seen as representative of body and soul together = social and religious totality. The Ngadju Dayaks consider it important to live in harmony with the dead, who in their totality are also an aspect of the Total Godhead.

<sup>1</sup> H. G. Quaritch Wales, op. cit., p. 94.

In his final chapter (Ch. 12) Schärer offers his interpretation of the Ngadju Dayak concepts under the heading "The nature of the Dayak religion". His main conclusion is to be found in the following passage: "It strikes us that the highest gods were never represented in art as persons, but as mythical totem animals—Hornbill and Naga—while of their representatives, the *sangiangs*, images do indeed exist. This may agree with the two highest deities being identical with the two tribal halves, and consequently not to be depicted except as totem-animals or as totem-emblems (lance and cloth). They are not persons, but the Total Society. In the two highest deities the two tribal halves deify and make themselves absolute and objective. When they appear as two groups, they do so as Naga and Hornbill, as Jata and Mahatala. When they appear as Totality, they do so as the Naga who is also the Hornbill, i.e. the total, bisexual, and ambivalent Godhead. At important events they appear as the personified functions of the highest gods, for it is the Total Society which acts in and through them. The godly world is therefore an image of the human. . . . What we have said of the Godhead, applies also to the divine worlds. The Upperworld and Underworld are not in the first place the dwelling-places of the two highest deities, but of the two phratries, or ritual groups. The drawings show a representation of our world" (pp. 177 f.). The gods have no world of their own, they dwell only on an offerings-table in this world, as a symbol of transcendent human society. So also for the dead, who remain nearby in this world as members of the community: the *sandong* is the village of the dead. The "village of the dead in the Upperworld is the transcendental Totality of all *sandong*s of the Total Community".

Then as to the Creation Myth. "The Creation Myth tells us not of creation, but it states how the Total Society is ordered, and how the whole Cosmos and all its appearances are brought into agreement with the community and its different groups. It explains the sociological structure of the tribe, it shows the function of the different groups, and it is the basis of the cosmic/classificatory system" (p. 179). The assembling of the whole people at the year's end, or on the other occasions mentioned, with a period of feasting and licence, and the symbolical repetition of the primordial differentiation, enables a new start to be made, and the social order to be reconstituted for a further period. Without going into great

detail I think that enough has now been said to indicate the lines of Schärer's interpretation.

My criticisms of the above, making use of both internal and external evidence, may conveniently be divided under three headings: (1) to show that the appearances of oneness or totality in this "conception of God" are secondary to an earlier dualism, while, despite this secondarily conceived totality, one of the pair of deities continues to maintain a prior importance; (2) to consider the validity of the author's "sociological" interpretation of the religion, and (3) to show, in a widely comparative setting, the real meaning of the ritual of the dramatized repetition of the creation.

That the totality is secondary to an earlier dualism seems evident from the titles, "The Naga who is united with the Hornbill; the Naga who is also the Hornbill." The Hornbill represented with scales and the Naga with feathers are also obviously secondary concepts. The "soul boat" with combined Naga and Hornbill heads, still more the type of *sangiang's* boat which consists of a complete Hornbill boat placed on top of a Naga boat, are combinations which could exist only as a result of a secondary conjunction of ideas. So also with the coffin-boat as Godhead, a boat which we are asked to believe served "not primarily" for a journey. In the Creation Myth the third mythical ancestor, Maharaja Sangen, seems to be a combination of the other two.

That the existence of a totality concept fails to suppress the non-equality of the two deities, and the greater importance of Mahatala, is shown by several features. In the Creation Myth Jata's home has been transferred from the Underworld and placed on a mountain in the Upperworld, comparable to Mahatala's. This is clearly a secondary idea designed to obscure Jata's former inferiority. With this is undoubtedly coupled Jata's manifestation as a female Hornbill instead of a Naga. Mahatala's part in the creation is more important than is Jata's. The rich social group is associated with him. He is to the fore in legal procedure and judgment. The land of the dead in Mahatala's realm, the Upperworld, was formerly reserved for the rich group. All this accords with the supremacy accorded the sky deity among peoples strongly influenced by Dongsonian beliefs, and it agrees also with our pre-Schärer information concerning the Ngadju Dayak religion.

Schärer's interpretation of the Ngadju Dayak conception of God

is immediately recognizable as an application of the theory of Emile Durkheim and the French sociological school. Though the founder's name is nowhere mentioned, the work of W. H. Rassers and several other Dutch exponents is referred to with approval. Durkheim's theory, an outgrowth of Marxism, was simply that God is in origin nothing but society deified, a combination of the totems representing the two exogamous phratries into which the primitive tribe was divided. The fact that social anthropology during the decade following the second world war so largely concerned itself with kinship and social structure, no doubt made it tempting thus to regard religion as a by-product, or more usually to neglect it altogether.<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless we may note in passing that Durkheim's theory has been rejected by two of the most distinguished anthropologists of this century, Malinowski<sup>2</sup> and Kroeber.<sup>3</sup>

What is perhaps more generally known is that Durkheim's theory has been found unacceptable by virtually all students of comparative religion, on grounds summarized by Paul Radin as follows: "The fundamental objections to the point of view of the Durkheim school are the well-known ones. It is aprioristic; it is arbitrary in its choice of information; it is not always critical in what it does select; and it eliminates the individual."<sup>4</sup> According to Durkheim the cosmic bodies were merely employed by the primitives as a means of classifying the all-important social phenomena. As this concerns our present study somewhat closely it may be worth while to mention that here a specific weakness has been pointed out by M. Eliade. Remarking, *inter alia*, upon the importance of the religious values placed on the course of the moon, he criticizes the attempt of members of the French sociological school to maintain the *social* origins of the rhythms of sacred time.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "It was argued that social structure should be clearly separated from the other aspects of man's social heritage. These came to be subsumed under the title 'culture', a word which has often been used in the post-war years almost in a pejorative sense to describe a sort of rag-bag of odds and ends in which to thrust all facts and ideas in which the social anthropologist was not at the moment interested." Audrey I. Richards in *Man and Culture*, ed. by Raymond Firth, London, 1957, p. 29.

<sup>2</sup> B. Malinowski, in *Science, Religion and Reality*, ed. Joseph Needham, 1925, pp. 25, 53-7.

<sup>3</sup> A. L. Kroeber, *Anthropology*, New York, 1948, p. 347.

<sup>4</sup> Paul Radin, *Primitive Religion*, 2nd edn., New York, 1957, p. 29.

<sup>5</sup> "It has been said (by Hubert and Mauss) that the social 'origin' of the reckoning of social time is borne out by the discrepancies between religious calendars



As to Schärer's particular attempt to apply the Durkheim theory, I will limit myself to a single criticism which at once reveals the inability of his material to supply the evidence for which he is seeking, and points the direction in which the correct interpretation may be found. To give his elucidation the slightest *vraisemblance* he realizes that he must show evidence for totemism, and so he produces so-called totem-emblems and totem-animals. The emblems are, however, sex-emblems, the lance of Mahatala, the cloth of Jata. As totem-animals he offers us the Hornbill and Naga. Had he considered these in a wider cultural perspective he must surely have recognized them, in association with the Cosmic Tree, as an example of the well-known cosmological symbolism of the Tree with bird at summit and snake at root.<sup>1</sup> This has indeed been recognized by Eliade when he refers to the Ngadju Dayak myths as expressing "l'ancien schéma cosmogonique de la hiérogamie Ciel-Terre, schéma exprimé également, sur un autre plan, par le symbolisme des opposés complémentaires Oiseau-Serpent".<sup>2</sup>

In beginning now the more constructive part of my task I would point out that there is world-wide evidence showing an evolution towards totality. This is not itself a primary concept and in religion developed alongside the cult of individual deities. Thus we find the growing importance, as religious thought develops, of the *coincidentia oppositorum*,<sup>3</sup> the urge to combine the pairs of opposites, such as light and darkness, male and female, life and death, good and bad, rich and poor, which everywhere present themselves in nature, but which suggest the idea of divine perfection only when combined as a totality. The widespread desire for the reconciliation of contraries is very evident when myths are examined. Primitively this results in the concept of the androgynous deity in religion.

and the rhythms of nature. In point of fact this divergence in no way disproves the link between man's systems of reckoning and the rhythms of nature; it simply proves on the one hand the inconsistency of primitive reckoning and chronometry, and on the other the non-'naturalist' character of primitive piety, whose feasts were not directed to any natural phenomenon in itself but to the religious aspect of that phenomenon." M. Eliade, *Patterns in Comparative Religion*, London, 1958, p. 390. (This is a translation of *Traité d'histoire des Religions*.)

<sup>1</sup> A. J. Wensinck, *Tree and Bird as Cosmological Symbols in Western Asia*, Amsterdam, 1921, p. 46.

<sup>2</sup> M. Eliade, *Le Chamanisme*, Paris, 1951, p. 258. Hornbills and snakes were of course widely venerated, without this implying a totemistic basis, cf. J. H. Hutton, *The Angami Nagas*, Appendix IV.

<sup>3</sup> M. Eliade, *Patterns* . . . , p. 419.



Socially this is *paralleled* when the importance of the tribe is seen to transcend its often antagonistic moieties.

Examples could be given from many cultures, e.g. the Chinese, where "above the Yin and Yang categories, the Tao plays the part of a supreme category: Power, Totality, Order".<sup>1</sup> But there is no need to go beyond the more primitive peoples of Indonesia where "this union of Father and Mother, Sky and Earth, Sun and Moon, exists alongside of or superimposes itself upon a duality of the Sky (or Sun)-Father and the Earth (or Moon)-Mother, *in the same way as* [my italics] the unity of the communal organization stands alongside of and above the two halves composing it".<sup>2</sup> This will suffice to show that quite primitive peoples are capable of evolving theory—the theory of primeval unity.

Father Sky and Mother Earth, as a divine pair of opposites, can be traced far back in prehistory, the worship of the former taking precedence among hunting and pastoral peoples, and of the latter among agriculturists. Even when they come to be effectively combined as a Supreme Totality we can often detect which of the pair retains the chief place: Thus with Gawang of the Konyak Nagas, Ga (Earth) precedes Wang (Sky); while Dua Nggae (Sky-earth) in Middle Flores is blue, lives in heaven, and has the stars for eyes,<sup>3</sup> thus showing the prior status of sky, just as we have seen with the duality Mahatala/Jata.

As to the dual organization of society, it has long been recognized that no single origin can be postulated: "No one theory of origin can be laid down as conclusive; each occurrence must receive special attention."<sup>4</sup> A division into rich and poor, or upper and lower classes seems eminently natural. But, as W. H. R. Rivers believed in the case of Melanesia, it seems to me that the effect of the immigration of a more powerful or highly cultured people cannot be ruled out as sometimes providing an additional reinforcement for such division. I have implied as much in comparing the aerial burial and sky afterworld of the upper class Ngadju Dayaks with that of the upper class Central Asian and Siberian nomads.<sup>5</sup> Despite this, as Schärer has clearly indicated, the often antagonistic

<sup>1</sup> M. Granet, *La Pensée Chinoise*, Paris, 1934, p. 325.

<sup>2</sup> R. Pettazzoni, *The All-Knowing God*, London, 1956, p. 336.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 334.

<sup>4</sup> I. Schapera, *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 14th edn., art. "Dual Organization".

<sup>5</sup> H. G. Quaritch Wales, *op. cit.*, p. 92.

groups are anxious to stress their membership of the total community.

Man was undoubtedly interested in his own creation (as in Genesis, Ch. 2) before he became interested in cosmogony (as in the added Genesis, Ch. 1); and the Ngadju Dayak Creation Myth has a substratum which does not differ markedly from creation myths of other Bornean and Indonesian peoples. But once man had become aware of the cosmos, and of his position in regard to it, he or at least those of a community capable of appreciating esoteric thought, were provided with a useful means of strengthening the idea of totality. But we should note that this concept of a Supreme Being who is the world order is not the same as the "primitive monotheism" of K. Th. Preuss, who not only supposed this conception to be fundamental but also regarded the Godhead as a transcendental Creator.<sup>1</sup> What we actually find is the application, not only to religion, but to virtually all aspects of culture, of the widely-known "universe analogy" or macrocosm-microcosm doctrine. In this the Godhead is no longer anthropomorphically conceived, despite the primitive duality of the earliest cosmos, as in ancient China,<sup>2</sup> and among the Winnebago Indians.<sup>3</sup> At a later stage, probably as the result of ultimately Mesopotamian influence, we find the universe of three or five strata, with finally the planetary cosmos of seven or nine heavens; and the Cosmic Axis, from being used as a means by which the shaman passes in spirit from stratum to stratum, becomes an emblem (as Mountain or Tree) of Cosmic Totality. The fact that with the Ngadju Dayaks the Cosmos is now dual suggests a loss of culture since the mention that the Upperworld is reached through forty-two cloud layers (a multiple of seven) indicates a vague memory of a stratified planetary cosmos.

That the whole system described by Schärer is based upon the macrocosm-microcosm symbolism is evident enough from his definitions of the totality of the Ngadju Dayak Godhead, and equally so from the wholesale manner in which the universe-analogy has

<sup>1</sup> K. Th. Preuss, *Glauben und Mystik im Schatten des Hochsten Wesens*, Leipzig, 1926, p. 38.

<sup>2</sup> C. Hentze, "Cosmogonie du Monde Dressé Debout et du Monde Renversé," in *Serie Orientale Roma*, xiv.

<sup>3</sup> C. Lévi-Strauss, "Le Symbolisme cosmique dans la structure sociale et l'organisation ceremonielle de plusieurs populations nord- et sud-américaines," *ibid.*

been applied to religious features—as it has also to the social groups and the legal procedure. How obviously indeed has the cosmic framework been applied to what is essentially the simple battle of arguments that constitutes the usual means of settling disputes among primitives.<sup>1</sup> In the marriage ceremony, again, one may be disposed to agree with the opinion of a previous observer that the clasping of the symbolic tree by the bridal pair is essentially a fertility rite.<sup>2</sup> Far from there being a “deeper meaning”, as supposed by Schärer, the cosmic significance, known only to the few, is more likely to be secondary; for the Tree of Life, symbolizing power, is older than the concept of the Cosmic Tree.<sup>3</sup> Then the reader has only to glance over the whole list of items, including *sangiangs*, spirits, priests, coffins, boats, houses, villages, as well as the individual and group, alive or dead, to observe the constant application of the macrocosm-microcosm doctrine. So by this “cosmisation”, more effectively than in primitive means of effecting (or restoring a supposed primordial) totality, man “remakes in himself and for himself the primeval unity which was before the world began”.<sup>4</sup>

To be of practical value such thought requires a magico-religious ritual which can regenerate the cosmos at any time that the divine order appears to have suffered disruption. That this has, in the esoteric system, developed alongside the popular cult of sky deities, is confirmed by the nature of the associated ceremonial. What is this ritual? Schärer makes it plain that there is only *one* such ceremony. He describes it as it is performed in connection with the *tiwah*, but he states that it is also carried out at the New Year, and whenever it is necessary to remove the effects of some serious sin; also on a minor scale on occasions when the cosmic harmony is deemed to have been to some extent disturbed. For Schärer, as we have seen, the ceremony is cosmic only in that a cosmic classification is used to symbolize the repetition of the primordial social differentiation. But such rites have been

<sup>1</sup> E.g. A. C. Kruyt, *De Bare'e sprekende Toradjas* . . . , i, p. 198; P. R. T. Gurdon, *The Khasis*, London, 1914, p. 92; and which indeed seems to have been generally understood as such by the Ngadjus, cf. Mallinckrodt, loc. cit., pp. 293 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Mallinckrodt, loc. cit., p. 93.

<sup>3</sup> M. Eliade, *Patterns* . . . , pp. 267-9.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., p. 420.

made the subject of careful comparative study by M. Eliade,<sup>1</sup> and it is against this wider background that we can now evaluate the Ngadju Dayak ritual.

In still existing folk ceremonies we find the burning of a tree, in a rite symbolic of the regeneration of vegetation and of the year in springtime.<sup>2</sup> For example it occurs in the Holi festival in India. This in its most primitive form, with the burning of a stake symbolic of "the burning of the old year", has been attributed to aboriginal usage taken up by Hinduism.<sup>3</sup> But with the application of cosmic concepts the tree becomes a microcosm and the ceremony one of cosmic renewal. The yearly repetition of the creation was enacted in Babylonia when the sea-monster Tiamat was destroyed by Marduk, to put an end to chaos, and the idea is found in Christian, Jewish, Persian, and Indian traditions. Essentially similar is the repetition of the creation in Fiji when a new chieftain is crowned. Everywhere the principle involved is that historical time may be destroyed by repeating an archetypal action which took place in mythical or sacred time, thus enabling a new start to be made. Characteristic proceedings are purifications, expulsion of evil, masked processions and receptions of the ancestors, fights between opposing teams, saturnalia, and orgy. The reception of the dead shows that all barriers between life and death have been removed. "The presence of orgy among the ceremonials marking the periodic divisions of time shows the *will to abolish the past totally by abolishing all creation* . . . licence is let loose, all commands are violated, all contraries are brought together, and all this is simply to effect the dissolution of the world—of which the community is a copy—and restore the primeval *illud tempus*." <sup>4</sup>

Having thus abolished the Cosmos, by a magical return to a supposedly primordial undifferentiated chaos, the creation is repeated in a ceremony symbolizing the struggle between the contrary deities with the intention "to start a new life in the midst of a new creation". As we have seen, in the case of the Ngadju

<sup>1</sup> Ibid. Chapters XI and XII. My indebtedness to Eliade's study of these cosmological aspects does not mean that I subscribe to the extreme importance he would ascribe to cosmic features in culture generally; cf. my review of *Patterns* . . ., *JRAS.*, 1958, p. 216.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 311.

<sup>3</sup> W. Crooke, *The Popular Religion and Folk-lore of Northern India*, London, 1896, vol. ii, pp. 319 f.

<sup>4</sup> M. Eliade, *Patterns* . . ., pp. 399 f.

Dayaks this is done by symbolically destroying the Cosmic Tree and the two hornbills. We should note that the desire to start a new creation "is no spiritual attitude, which depreciates life on earth and all that goes with it in favour of a 'spirituality' of detachment from the world. On the contrary, what may be called the 'nostalgia for eternity' proves that man longs for a concrete paradise, and believes that such a paradise can be won *here*, on earth, and *now*, in the present moment".<sup>1</sup>

Essentially the same symbolism and magic has been applied, in the theological system, to the Ngadju Dayak rites of initiation and of marriage, and to the judicial system, each of which, as we have seen, involves a new creation. And in the service of this imitative magic the macrocosm-microcosm doctrine has everywhere found employment. Further, the village and the house are "easy substitutes" for the sacred centres they are held to represent. "Not only does the construction of the house take place in the centre of the world, but in a sense it also repeats the creation."<sup>2</sup> The Ngadju Dayak symbolism for the house falls into a pattern for house, palace, and temple that is now widely known—but nowhere can the critical mind suppose that such symbolism is anything but secondary.

The question of "origins", entirely subsidiary to the main theme of this article, may be postponed until I have carried my examination of the Indonesian material somewhat further. I now propose to consider a more recent book which certainly invites comparison with the foregoing. This is *The Structure of the Toba-Batak Belief in the High God*, by Dr. Ph. L. Tobing, Amsterdam, 1956.

Before embarking on this, however, we must briefly outline what was known of Batak religion prior to Tobing's work. The basic study is that of Warneck.<sup>3</sup> According to him the Supreme Deity is Mula Jadi na Bolon, an otiose creator living in the highest of the seven heavens. Besides the Upperworld the Batak cosmology recognizes the Middleworld of man, and an Underworld of demons and the dead. However, many of the latter remain in this world and the renowned go to a sky afterworld. The otiose Supreme Deity has been effectively replaced by a triad of active atmospheric

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., p. 408.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 382.

<sup>3</sup> J. Warneck, *Die Religion der Batak*, Leipzig, 1909; largely utilized by E. M. Loeb, *Sumatra*, Vienna, 1935, with further bibliography.



deities, Batara Guru, Soripata, and Mangalabulan, born from three large eggs laid by a fabulous bird which the Creator placed on a tree. These three gods live one stage lower in the Upperworld, and are evidently in some sense deified ancestors. Naga Padoha is the deity of the Underworld and regarded as evil. There are also various other gods of different grades. The spirits of the dead (*begu*) may, as a result of their descendants' feasts, become nature spirits (*sombaon*). All these require propitiation and sacrifice. Death is explained as the theft of a person's soul (*tondi*) by a *begu*. Batak civilization, and especially that of the Sembiring sib of the Karo-Bataks, who alone practice cremation, was more or less influenced by Indian culture, as is obvious from their script and divination books, their deity and sib names, and their vocabulary. Consequently it is not surprising to find that religious cult, once probably a strict shamanism, has become influenced by trance-mediumship or "possession". The *sibaso*, or shaman, is always a woman. Though undergoing no initiation she is a true ecstatic, but allows herself to be possessed by the spirits who have chosen her. She knows their language and finds out what sacrifices are needed by a *begu* to procure the recovery of a patient. The *datu*, or priest-magician, has undergone an initiation from a *guru* but does not go into a trance. His procedure for treatment of a sick person is by exorcism of the evil spirits, and he makes much use of his magic staff, for the manufacture of which it was necessary to sacrifice a child. All of this betrays the influence of Indian magic.<sup>1</sup> It must be added that in more recent years the cosmic nature of the Batak Godhead, to be revealed in detail by the investigations of Tobing, had in some degree been recognized by several authors.<sup>2</sup>

Dr. Ph. Lumban Tobing is himself a Toba-Batak, and this no doubt gave him many advantages as a field-worker among his own people. He is also a Ph.D. of Leiden, which makes his theoretical approach a matter claiming our interested attention at the outset. He rejects animism, but what he dislikes about "primitive monotheism" is mainly the otiose character, resulting from degeneration, that is generally ascribed to the Supreme Being of present-day peoples. At the same time he firmly rejects any interpretation

<sup>1</sup> M. Eliade, *Le Chamanisme*, pp. 312 f.

<sup>2</sup> K. H. A. Hidding, "Allah Ta'ala," in *Binkisan Budi*, Leiden, 1950, p. 147; V. E. Korn, "Batakse Offerande," *Bijdragen*, 109, pt. 2, p. 116; J. C. Vergouwen, *Het Rechtsleven der Toba-Bataks*, The Hague, 1933.



based on Durkheim's theory—for which one may be thankful. He recognizes that Preuss' view of the cosmic character of the Godhead has some value; and, like him, in practice he regards this character as fundamental, saying (p. 20) that he does not propose to deal with the history or origin of the structure of the Godhead. To correct Preuss' view of the otiose nature of the Supreme Deity, who did nothing beyond starting the world order, Tobing theorizes in terms of Lévy-Bruhl's so-called "law of participation". It would have been better had he realized that, as seen in primitive symbolism, "the *whole* exists within each *significant fragment*, not because the 'law of participation' (as understood by Lévy-Bruhl) is valid, but because every significant fragment *reproduces* the whole".<sup>1</sup> Eventually Tobing does recognize what we are in fact concerned with, the application of the macrocosm-microcosm symbolism: "The Tobanese relation to this God is therefore that of a part to the whole, or rather, the individual is a microcosmos within the macrocosmos, which is the High God" (p. 94). Dr. Tobing certainly brings much new and valuable information towards a fuller understanding of the esoteric conception of the Batak Godhead. Where I shall have to take issue with him is on his main thesis that this "totalitarian way of thinking is underlying and inherent" to the structure of the High God (p. 177).

Tobing's main sources are the creation and other myths, of which he gives texts and translations of versions not previously available. He tells us that the Toba-Batak Supreme Deity, known as Mula Jadi na Bolon, or more shortly Debata, is the Total Cosmos. But this Godhead "has three aspects, each representing one of the three worlds", or being a manifestation of Debata. As Bubi na Bolon he is the god of the Upperworld and is the Upperworld itself; as Silaon na Bolon he is god of the Middleworld and is the Middleworld itself; as Pane na Bolon (or Naga Padoha, the Underworld serpent) he is god of the Underworld and is the Underworld itself. A lance is the Upperworld emblem, a cloth the Underworld emblem (p. 133), while a wooden rack, *raga-raga*, symbolizes in rites the Middleworld (p. 68). The Toba-Batak experiences the same Debata in each of the tree deities. Yet Debata in his totality is "imagined as living in the highest sphere of the Upperworld" (p. 28). More definitely "the seventh sphere of the Upperworld is the dwelling-place of the High God; from this place he rules all

<sup>1</sup> M. Eliade, *Patterns* . . . , p. 269, and cf. Ch. XIII, "The Structure of Symbols."

that exists" (p. 97). Also the Tree met with in three creation myths, which reaches from the Underworld to the Upperworld, is identical with the High God [Godhead], and represents the Total Cosmos (p. 60). "Beyond doubt the High God is the banyan tree renewing itself by growing twigs and fruits again and again" (p. 120). However, other myths and folktales speak of a banyan tree growing at the entrance to the Upperworld. This is the Upperworld Tree = the Upperworld itself (pp. 60 ff.).

Tobing deduces (pp. 71-81) that the triad Batara Guru, Sori, and Balabulan (Mangalabulan), who were born from the three eggs, are "representations of the three functional groups in the Tobanese system of relationship", and (p. 135) that these three mythical ancestors also represent Under-, Middle-, and Upperworld respectively. Together they form a microcosm known in their totality as Debata Asi-asi, and personified by the village chief. [This appears, I may comment here, to be a superimposed combination similar to Maharaja Sangen with the Ngadju Dayaks, but reflecting a more developed cosmos of three strata.]

Our previous information is confirmed as to the behaviour, if not the significance, of the *begu*, or ghosts of the ordinary dead. "Illness, misfortune, etc., are imputed to the *tondi* leaving the body. If it stays away for a long time, a man must die. It is the spirits which can entice a *tondi* from the body and keep it in their power" (p. 86). Again, "when a *begu* makes somebody ill . . . if the *begu* accepts the sacrifice, recovery will set in, if not, death will follow" (p. 100). The *sombaons*, or nature spirits, unlike the *begus*, very rarely live in the Upper- or Underworld, but are frequent in our world, where they sometimes wage war on each other, and also cause illness and demand sacrifices from men. They, like the *begus*, derive their power from the High God (p. 101).

In view of the above description of the *begu's* behaviour, the following generalization may strike one as a little surprising: "It will now have become clear that each *begu* is an entity of time and space. The High God is the assignor of the dwelling places and the functions of the *begu*. He makes them live in the Upper-, Middle-, and Underworld. Against this background the High God can scarcely be anything else but the oneness of all space and all order. In other words, the *begu* are parts or rather manifestations of the High God. A *begu* and the High God cannot be separated; they form an inseparable oneness, although they can be quantita-

tively distinguished: the totality is more powerful than a part. In each of the *begu* the Tobanese experience the High God. He is a 'deus otiosus' and active God as well, oneness as well as multiplicity, etc." (p. 106).

That the village and house are each regarded as microcosms (pp. 136-8) is as we should expect within this system. Similarly, since the villager originates from the Tree, lives with it and will be united with it again after death (as symbolized by the planting of a banian on his grave), it is natural to find that initiation rites are considered to have the aim of "participating" in the Under-, Middle-, and Upperworld (p. 139).

The *bius* celebration, held at New Year and after epidemics, has already been shown by Korn to be a festival of cosmic renewal. Now Tobing shows reason to see in the slaughter-pole, to which the sacrificial buffalo is attached, a representation of the Cosmic Tree = Total Godhead (pp. 152-4). Especially does his interpretation of the much-discussed magic staff (*tunggal panahuan*), as having the same significance, seem to me convincing (pp. 155-168). He then gives an interesting and detailed description from personal observation of the dances performed by the *datus* at the *bius* celebration, "a magico-religious dramatization of the cosmic renewal" in which the magic staff, standing in a basket of rice, has an important role. I think the purport of the whole will be sufficiently clear if I quote only his interpretation of the last dance:—

"This last dance demonstrates the *tunggal panahuan* as the High God in his totality of Under-, Middle-, and Upperworld. Therefore we may see in this dance, which is a combination of the preceding ones, the magico-religious dramatization of the 'total' cosmic renewal, but also of the cosmic destruction, as the two are inherent. The wiping-out of the octagon [or 'double-square' drawing, representing the Middleworld] and of the naga-drawing [representing the Underworld], the removal of the altar, etc., the killing of the animals, and the planting of the *tunggal panahuan* on the egg [placed in the centre of the octagon], what do they represent? The myth, the text of which has been published on p. 115 sq. of this work, throws a surprisingly new light on this. Let us summarize what we have said there: 'The end of the year is the cosmic destruction and renewal at the same time. The tree of life dies, a new one develops from the same trunk, nourished by the fruit fallen from the old tree.' Notice the essential oneness of myth,

rite, and magic. For in the wiping-out of the octagon and the naga-drawing, in the removal of the altar, etc., and in the killing of the animals we see the symbolical destruction of the total cosmos, the community included. We see the dramatization of the renewal in the planting of 'the same' *tunggal panaluan*, because it has been in the possession of the community from generation to generation. It is planted on the egg, which no doubt symbolizes the fruit of the old tree of life and consequently it is a representation of the new cosmic life. So we see that the *tunggal panaluan* actually symbolizes the High God. It represents him in his trinity and in the total character of each of his manifestations; in the three 'aspect'-dances and in the one combining the three the same staff is used" (p. 173).

My opinion of Dr. Tobing's theoretical standpoint has already been stated. Now my first comment on the material he provides will concern the nature and formation of the Toba-Batak cosmos and Total Godhead. This tri-partite cosmos represents a more advanced conception than does that of the Ngadju Dayaks which, without prejudice to the possibility of their having known something more complex during earlier times, at present closely adheres to a primitive dualism. Now the underlying uranic character of the Batak High God, and lingering theistic conception of him, persists in his being thought to reside in the highest heaven. So his "total" nature is undoubtedly secondary. Again, the conception of the banian tree, representing the total cosmos or Godhead, that is found in the three creation myths, is an obvious extension of the belief met with in other myths and folktales of a more limited Upperworld tree = Sky.

I do not feel entirely convinced as to the three active deities Batara Guru, Sori, and Balabulan, being equated to the three worlds, especially the relating of Batara Guru to the Underworld, which conflicts with our previous information, and with the generally prior importance of the Upperworld, as seen in the nature of the High God. In fact it is stated in the myth translated on p. 37 that Batara Guru "comes from the higher heights, from the uppermost sphere of the Upperworld". Although it is not surprising to find these "three gods" regarded more and more as ancestors, with the cosmological symbolism probably applied both to them and the social relationships, it seems to me that further investigation is needed on this matter.

The secondary character of the cosmic status is very evident in what we are told about the behaviour of the *begu* and *sombaon*. Their essentially animistic bias is only too apparent in their thoroughly individualistic activities; and the status of microcosm does not seem to fit them very comfortably. Certainly Tobing's arguments, referred to above, are very weak. Nor should we expect the microcosm status to be readily acceptable by the ordinary man in regard to his *tondi*. For as Tobing rather ingenuously remarks: "Though the feeling of being part of cosmic reality is predominant, though nature and its course are the pattern to which the Tobanese adapts his life as much as possible, yet he is a conscious and rational being who can detach himself from everything around him" (p. 154).

In maintaining that the macrocosm-microcosm doctrine is not fundamental to Batak culture I would not seek to underestimate the very general manner in which it seems to have been applied in the esoteric religious system. Indeed this has perhaps been more thoroughly achieved here than with the Ngadju Dayaks, judging by the concept of the total Godhead and some of the features of the *bius* ceremony, as will appear below.

Dr. Tobing undoubtedly underrates the extent of Indian and Indo-Javanese influences among the Bataks, and particularly the Toba-Bataks. He dismisses any traces of them among the latter as "unimportant" (p. 17), even though he seems to experience a doubt when he reflects on the speed with which the greater part of the Toba-Bataks have been converted to Christianity. Archæology shows that the population of Padang Lawas were Indianized Bataks, who built a number of thoroughly Indianesque temples.<sup>1</sup> It would be strange if some rather strong Indian influences had not reached the Toba-Bataks. So Tobing overlooks the fact that Pane na Bolon, or Naga Padoha, the Underworld deity, and especially the auguries drawn from the supposed position thereof, have been proved by Voorhoeve to be of Indian origin.<sup>2</sup> Of more concern to us here is that Tobing fails to recognize that the *desa na ulu* or "double square", used to represent the Middleworld in the cosmic renewal rites, should be compared with figs. 3 and 4 of P. H. Pott's *Yoga en Yantra*. This has been pointed out by P. E. de Josselin

<sup>1</sup> F. M. Schnitger, *The Archaeology of Hindoo Sumatra*, Leiden, 1937, Chapter V.

<sup>2</sup> *Bijdragen*, 113, pp. 291 f. In my *Ancient South-East Asian Warfare*, p. 157, I gave a different explanation of this Naga, equating it with Rahu.



de Jong.<sup>1</sup> It is unquestionably derived from the Indian *maṇḍala*, and this indeed was already recognized by Schnitger.<sup>2</sup> The use of the *maṇḍala* indicates the influence of Tantrism, and provides a symbol of cosmic totality which enables the Bataks to give precision to their own vaguer views. As illustrated in Tobing's Sketch 7, the double-square is outlined in three colours to symbolize the three worlds, further a naga is drawn inside to represent the Underworld. At the centre is placed an egg and, as we have seen, in the last dance the *datu* places the magic staff, symbolizing the Supreme Totality, on the cosmic centre. While underestimating the Indian influences, Tobing is certainly right when he generalizes (p. 18): "Foreign elements have only been adopted when they could be brought in an organic relation with their original cosmic views."

We may now pause to consider briefly the subsidiary question of the origin of the esoteric religious concepts of the Ngadju Dayaks. A comment that I may mention here on the difficult question of foreign influence comes from Eliade in his brief reference to Schärer's work in *Le Chamanisme* (p. 258). While Eliade there recognizes, as we have seen, the presence of the ancient Sky-Earth basis, he adds, without giving his reasons: "It is moreover incontestable that some Indian influences have been added later to the ancient local basis, even though these influences are often limited to the gods' names." This sentence is really too ambiguous to be satisfactory: the first part accords with the view to which I feel inclined, the second part is merely a repetition of the contrary opinion of Schärer. I shall now state my reasons for concluding very tentatively in favour of Indian, or more particularly, Indo-Javanese influence.

1. In the Mahakam region of East Borneo, considerable finds of Indo-Javanese cultural objects have been made, especially the Hindu and Buddhist statues in the Mount Kombeng cave. Various characteristics have led to these being thought to be the work of Javanese long separated from their own land, or else of "marginal Dayaks".<sup>3</sup> One is also reminded of the Sambas (West Borneo) incense-burner discussed by me elsewhere, which I concluded to have been the work of a people marginal to Hinduism.<sup>4</sup> Further-

<sup>1</sup> *Bijdragen*, 113, p. 396.

<sup>2</sup> F. M. Schnitger, *Forgotten Kingdoms in Sumatra*, Leiden, 1939, pp. 128 f.

<sup>3</sup> *Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology for 1926*, p. 25.

<sup>4</sup> *JRASMB.*, vol. xxii, 1949.

more it seems likely that the whole of the southern half of Borneo was exposed to contacts with the Majapahit kingdom. Even Schärer, so strongly opposed to the admission of Hindu influence as he was, freely allowed that the Ngadju Dayak myths indicate that close relations existed between the Ngadjus and the rulers and people of Majapahit.<sup>1</sup> Need one ask more by way of conditions suitable for some degree of cultural transfer ?

2. The Ngadjus are exceptional in Borneo as practising cremation, the bones being burnt at the *tivah*. Wherever cremation is found in Indonesia it is generally accepted as a decisive sign that there has been Indian influence.

3. According to Schärer, the priestly maps of the Upperworld are merely maps of our world. But one of those he illustrates<sup>2</sup> certainly suggests the possibility of another interpretation. In this drawing we see the representation of the *sangiangs*' villages. Four of the larger ones are depicted as circles, each having an eight-petaled flower in or near the centre. Another large circle has wheel-like divisions. Could not these be *mandalas*, at any rate the Ngadju Dayak conception of such symbols ? They do not have to be immediately identifiable as a specialized type of *mandala*, as was the case with the Toba-Batak "double-square", because the word *mandala* means literally a "circle"; also because "for the most part, the *mandala* form is that of a flower, cross, or wheel, with a distinct tendency towards four as the basis of structure".<sup>3</sup> As providing a well-defined image of the universe, or of the microcosm, the *mandala* would surely have been found as useful by the Ngadju Dayaks as it was by the Toba-Bataks. Gongs (= microcosms ?) are similarly drawn.<sup>4</sup>

4. There is no "possession" of the *baliens* by ancestors, nor are they concerned with the general cult of ancestors. But a careful study of the passage I have quoted from Schärer on the matter of "incorporation" of the *sangiangs* now inclines me to the belief that their relation to the *baliens* represents at least a considerable

<sup>1</sup> Schärer, op. cit., p. 234, n. 12.

<sup>2</sup> Schärer, op. cit., Plate V, also *Cultureel Indië*, iv, p. 74.

<sup>3</sup> C. G. Jung, *The Secret of the Golden Flower*, London, 1931, p. 97. The fact that something like *mandalas* are known to some American Indians, as also to Jung's patients, would not appear to me, all things considered, to be a very strong argument against the Bornean *mandalas*, if such they be, resulting from Tantric influence.

<sup>4</sup> Schärer, op. cit., Plate XX also *Cultureel Indië*, iv, p. 73.

step towards "possession", as compared with the status of the *sangiangs* as helper-spirits in the popular shamanism. This personal situation of the baliens *vis-à-vis* the *sangiangs*, quite apart from the magical symbolism of the macrocosm-microcosm doctrine, would point towards Indian influence modifying a previously strict shamanism.

5. One would like to be able to say that since nothing comparable to the Ngadju Dayak theological system has been discovered among such thoroughly investigated peoples as the Sea Dayaks and East Torajas, this points to foreign influence in the case of the Ngadjus. Unfortunately what should perhaps be our strongest argument is rendered our weakest by the fact that both Ngadjus and Bataks had also *apparently* been well-studied. Here is a challenge to field-workers, if and where it is not already too late.

To these considerations must be added the improbability that anything so complicated as the macrocosm-microcosm doctrine, in the full range of its application, which was so characteristic of Indo-Javanese Tantrism, was achieved independently or derived from any but that source.<sup>1</sup> As we have seen, an awareness of the cosmos, in varying degree of complexity, did not have to await the coming of Indian influences; but in Bronze Age times it would appear that preoccupation was with the Cosmic Axis as a means by which the shaman could reach the highest heavens. Tantrism, with its magical formulae, brought an easier way, and one which could be easily grafted on to the androgynous deity of primitive totality concepts. The likelihood that this took place is not lessened by the fact that details to-day are not identifiably Indian. The origins of a cosmic mountain, a tree, a bird, a serpent, and similar symbols in the Creation Myth, or even an umbrella-crowned house, do not have to be looked for in India. Obscuring factors are cultural loss since the time of Majapahit contacts, and also probably a considerable local elaboration. Indeed we must bear in mind a remark of Schärer's (p. 12) that the Ngadjus have some great thinkers, priests who are constantly developing their religion. It reminds us of what has been said of the Malay theologian's aptitude, at a later date,

<sup>1</sup> The macrocosm-microcosm doctrine was also known in China as well as in India and the classical West. But Chinese influence here may be ruled out. There was no deity or *spiritus rector* concerned in the Chinese conception, which has much more in common with the organic naturalism of modern Western philosophy. Cf. J. Needham, *Science and Civilization in China*, vol. ii, p. 302.

for Sufi mysticism: "The skill with which these Malays with a vocabulary lacking in abstract terms were able to grasp and introduce Sufi mysticism to their world is very remarkable, and though their ideas were not original, in no other field has the Malay mind displayed such intellectual ability and subtlety."<sup>1</sup> It would seem that when brought into contact with Indo-Javanese Tantrism, the Ngadjus displayed a similar skill, together with a freedom from restraint which only a marginal people can know.

It is the critical study of such marginal cultures, which may now perhaps be held to include the Ngadju Dayak as well as the Batak, though in a less degree, that may well be fruitful for a better understanding of the processes involved in the early spread and acceptance of Indian influences in South-East Asia. The indications seem to be that from the outset, magic and religion, with the art that expresses them, were the aspects of Indian culture that made greatest appeal. This accords with what van Leur perhaps not too forcibly stressed when he said that "what expressions of Indian civilization there were in early Indonesia were without exception sacral."<sup>2</sup> Law and social structure (the full caste system) were certainly among the less attractive aspects of the Indian cultural pattern in South-East Asia, while in South India they were well assimilated, and there was no waning of the foreign factor. So to suggest like Coedès (BEFEO, XLIX, pt. 1, pp. 353-356) that local response was as inactive towards religion and art as it was to the relatively unattractive legal systems may lead to a wrong impression of the Indianization of South-East Asia.

I now propose to bring into the discussion some related problems concerning another people of Indonesia—the Javanese. Here, of course, we are dealing with a civilization which underwent, at a certain period, strong Indianization, with consequent acquaintance with more spiritual religious ideas in the official culture.

Elsewhere I have indicated the way in which a pre-Hindu shamanic religion seems to encourage the adoption of transcendental Mahāyāna Buddhism, with its abolition of the spatial cosmos on the attainment of *nirvāṇa*, after a step by step ascent of the cosmic axis.<sup>3</sup> However, the attitude of Hindu and later Buddhist thinkers

<sup>1</sup> Sir R. O. Winstedt, *The Malays: A Cultural History*, 4th edn., London, 1956, p. 40.

<sup>2</sup> J. C. van Leur, *Indonesian Trade and Society*, The Hague, 1955, p. 107.

<sup>3</sup> H. G. Quaritch Wales, *Prehistory and Religion* . . . , pp. 171 ff.

to the universe (popular theistic worship aside) was often both transcendental and pantheistic at the same time: As Sir Charles Eliot remarked: "The soul wishes to move towards God and away from matter. Yet when Indian writers glorify the deity they rarely abstain from identifying him with the universe."<sup>1</sup> So I think we should not look for a strict demarcation of the immanent and transcendental in esoteric Indo-Javanese thought.<sup>2</sup> For the late period to which I am going to refer, the Majapahit period whose external influences have already engaged our attention, the matter need hardly concern us. By then there is little doubt that magical aspects of Tantrism were uppermost.

A case in point is the meaning in Tantrism of the *gunungan* or *kekayon*, that puzzling mountain- or tree-piece which is of such importance for the understanding of the *wayang kulit*, or Javanese shadow play. Now Dr. Jacoba Hooykaas, taking account of the work of Schärer and Tobing, on the Ngadju Dayak and Toba-Batak Cosmic Trees, has recognized that similarly the *kekayon* is an emblem of Totality (Śiva-Uma) placed in the "centre", with which Total Deity the *dalang* is united during the wayang performance.<sup>3</sup> This is undoubtedly a contribution to our better comprehension of the Tantric aspect of the *wayang kulit*, and it is incidentally no help to the Rassers' theory.<sup>4</sup>

Perhaps we need say little more of Rassers' theory here than that it is erected on the weak foundation of the Durkheim philosophy, and the example of Rassers' publications seems to have formed the main inspiration for Schärer's interpretation of the Ngadju Dayak Godhead. Certainly it should be mentioned in extenuation that these Durkheim-based views of Rassers first saw the light in his *De Pandji-Roman* as long ago as 1922, when nothing whatever was known of Bronze Age or Neolithic religion in Indonesia, and lack of adequate support from ethnology was not thought to be a detriment. One was free then to imagine the pre-Hindu "old

<sup>1</sup> Sir Charles Eliot, *Hinduism and Buddhism*, London, 1921, vol. ii, p. 317.

<sup>2</sup> That the cosmic symbolism of the *stupa* was secondary to its basic significance as a substitute body was recognized by Paul Mus, cf. "Barabudur", *BEFEO.*, vol. 33, p. 620.

<sup>3</sup> Jacoba Hooykaas, "Upon a White Stone under a Nagasari-Tree," *Bijdragen*, 113, pp. 329 ff.; also "Het Prae-Muslimse Huwelijk op Java en Bali", *Indonesie*, April, 1957, p. 124.

<sup>4</sup> W. H. Rassers, "Over den Oorsprong van het Javaansche Tooneel," *Bijdragen*, 88, pp. 317-450.



indigenous" culture as having been closely allied to the totemistic Australian, or whatever one pleased. Apt indeed was the comment of one early Dutch critic: "The refutation of this representation is as difficult as the proof of it."<sup>1</sup> Prehistory has made great strides since then, though not it would appear for Rassers, who much more recently tries to find an origin of the *kěris* (a weapon of evidently Dongson affiliation)<sup>2</sup> in terms of his totemistic theory.<sup>3</sup>

This is not to deny the probability that *kěris* and *gunungan* (when seen as representing Totality) may be equated, but not on the grounds proposed by Rassers. It would seem likely that to both of them the universe-analogy was applied at a certain time, while no doubt they both more and more came to be regarded as the equivalent of Panji, the first ancestor. The most frequent form of *kěris* consists of Garuda handle and serpent blade—a perfect microcosm. And we have the analogy of the Batak magic staff which—though now often exhibiting a multiplicity of carvings—has a serpent on the lower part, and must essentially consist of three parts symbolizing the Batak tripartite universe.<sup>4</sup> Rassers tells us that Panji's supernatural power lay in his *kěris*, that every *kěris* is in some way identical with the first ancestor, and even though it be an entirely new one yet it is a link in the chain binding succeeding generations with the mythical founder. It is indeed the materialization of the eternally living clan hero, and receives worship at certain times.<sup>5</sup> So it seems comparable to the Samurai's sword. In South-East Asia it reminds us of what we know of the Khmer *devarāja*, or of the megalithic menhir, neither of which fortunately has anyone yet attempted to interpret in terms of totemism. It would seem quite likely that the Javanese national

<sup>1</sup> T. Pigeaud, *De Tani Panggelaran*, The Hague, 1924, p. 207. It may be mentioned here that for totem animals on the *gunungan* Rassers points to the two animals facing each other on either side of the Tree. Unlike the example illustrated by him, they are as often as not of the *same* species, and not particularly warlike in mien. Not recognizing the presence of the Cosmic Tree, Rassers did not appreciate that the animals facing it must be interpreted within the context of the widely-known symbolism of animals facing a Cosmic Tree.

<sup>2</sup> R. Heine-Geldern, "Über Kris-Griffe und ihre mythischen Grundlagen," *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift*, vol. xviii, pp. 260-3; Sir R. O. Winstedt, *The Malays, A Cultural History*, 4th edn., London, 1956, p. 165.

<sup>3</sup> W. H. Rassers, "Inleiding tot een bestudeering van het Javaansche kris," *Mededeelingen der Koninklyke Nederlandsche Akademie van Wetenschap*, 1938; "On the Javanese Kris," *Bijdragen*, 99.4.

<sup>4</sup> Ph. L. Tobing, op. cit., Pl. 9, and note 40.

<sup>5</sup> W. H. Rassers, *Bijdragen*, 99.4, pp. 502, 523.

weapon similarly came to represent the ancestral divine essence and then—in a culture where the universe-analogy had become frequent—naturally it became yet another microcosm.

Since I have had to mention in this article that the opinions of Durkheim and the French sociological school have found virtually unanimous rejection on the part of students of comparative religion, this has seemed an appropriate occasion to remind the reader that these form the foundation of Rassers' theories. Previously<sup>1</sup> I had found it sufficient to criticize such obvious specific points as his failure to recognize the presence of the Cosmic Tree on the *gunungan*, and the *kāla* head = Śiva in his demoniacal form, often represented on the Tree, and as often reduced to a sun-eye, thus losing its Hindu veneer. The fact is that Rassers in studying the Panji myths found plenty of evidence to connect the ancestors with sun or moon; but, instead of taking these at face value, he dismissed them in favour of Durkheim's theory of a primitive cosmological "classification" of a basic totemic clan organization.<sup>2</sup>

To return to the *kāla* head on the *gunungan*: It is this being so frequently transformed into a Sun-eye that somewhat limits the significance of Dr. J. Hooykaas' contribution; or rather the Sun-eye, coupled with such facts as the naturalistic Sun-face shown on the well-known *wayang* of Śiva in the Batavia Museum, the progressive rounding of the *kāla* head over the *chandis* from the twelfth century onwards, the identification of Śiva and indeed of all deities with the Sun in fourteenth-century Majapahit, which identification was carried over into Bali when Majapahit Javanese migrated thither, and where the Sun-seat (*padmasana*) is of outstanding importance. These facts belie the Totality concept, at least as an all-satisfying interpretation of the *gunungan*. Clearly there is also a no less profound belief in the pre-eminence of a solarized sky deity.

The *dalang*, officiating in the shadow-play, essentially identifies himself with a deity who is Śiva as Sun-god/ancestor. So also in Kelantan the Śiva with whom the *dalang* identifies himself is also Panji, the first ancestor whose solar origins are reflected in the myths.<sup>3</sup> It is only if Dr. Hooykaas wishes to concern herself exclusively with a superimposed Tantric conception that she can say:

<sup>1</sup> H. G. Quaritch Wales, *The Making of Greater India*, pp. 136 ff.

<sup>2</sup> W. H. Rassers, *Bijdragen*, 88, p. 336.

<sup>3</sup> J. Cuisinier, *Le Théâtre d'Ombres à Kelantan*, Paris, 1957, p. 16.

"It now becomes a futile question whether the *kekayon* is solar or chthonic, as it is both, being the home or transfiguration of Śiva-Uma, the divine conception of totality."<sup>1</sup> If we glance at the products of earlier periods, the Barabatur and the Khmer temple-mountains, we find that the cosmic-totality concept has already been applied. It is in this sense that Coedès can correctly say (*BEFEO.*, xlix, p. 352) that all these symbolic structures are both uranic and chthonic, since a totality includes both aspects. But the difference in deep-seated trend is clearly enough indicated by the liking for *kāla*-heads and the circular terraces of the Barabatur, as against the love of *nāgas*, the stress on the quarters and the developed pyramids of the Khmer temple-mountains.

The solar and uranic features above-mentioned are not manifestations of popular Indian theistic religion, marring the perfect realization of esoteric conceptions of Totality. By the fourteenth century neither Tantrism (in its higher or lower aspects) nor any other form of Hinduism or Buddhism, were proof against the general upsurge of Bronze Age ideas; and a little later in Java we find Older Megalithic-type pyramid building and an underworld land of the dead. No, Tantrism in the fourteenth century was no longer "insoluble in the magma of its Indonesian surroundings, unassailable by all influences of time and space", as Bosch has imagined.<sup>2</sup> Śiva is the Sun/Ancestor, the solarized pre-Hindu sky deity resurgent. The Sun's supremacy can now no more be adequately cloaked by the universe-analogy in Majapahit than can the nature of the Godhead with the Ngadju Dayaks and Toba-Bataks. As I have said in my book *Prehistory and Religion in South-East Asia* (pp. 153 f.), I believe that the evidence strongly supports those who have seen the *dalang* as formerly a shaman journeying in trance to the sky deities, this being before the ancestor element and "possession" became so pronounced, and finally the *wayang kulit* descended to the field of entertainment. That is to say it was in earlier times a shamanic séance, at least in the eyes of the majority. Similarly, no doubt, with the Kelantan shadow-play, on which

<sup>1</sup> Jacoba Hooykaas, "Upon a White Stone . . ." loc. cit., p. 331. Another point of some bearing on the matter is that she herself has shown elsewhere ("The Balinese Realm of Death", *Bijdragen*, 112, pp. 74-87) that there is old Javanese literary evidence that in the thirteenth-fourteenth century a *sky* afterworld was conceived—which is not a union with Totality.

<sup>2</sup> F. D. K. Bosch, "Uit de Grensgebieden tussen Indische invloedssfeer en oud-inheems volksgeloof op Java," *Bijdragen*, 110, pt. 1, 1954, pp. 1-19.

Mlle. Cuisinier has recently published the results of her investigations. Though of the highest value as a mine of information, her conclusions are regrettably weak. An adherent of Rassers, albeit a half-hearted one, she finds <sup>1</sup> in the initiation of the *dalang* the main support for Rassers' explanation of *wayang* origins in terms of totemic initiation. It does not occur to her that there is nothing peculiarly totemic about this initiation of the *dalang*, which can certainly as well be explained as pointing to a former shamanism.

Finally I would say that I do not wish to undervalue the contribution of Dr. J. Hooykaas, any more than I do those of Schärer and Tobing, when seen in proper perspective to the religion as a whole, and correctly interpreted. But after our comparative study we must feel on familiar ground when Dr. Hooykaas tells us she obtains her information from "four small treatises about the *wayang kulit* which deal with the macrocosm and microcosm, as nearly all Javano-Balinese mysticism does, following its Indian master".<sup>2</sup>

How, indeed, was the Indian master received even in India? Of course anyone was capable of appreciating totality as an androgynous deity, or a combination of sky and earth, but when it came to such things as the macrocosm-microcosm doctrine of Tantrism "all these mystical techniques are possible only to a tiny minority as compared with the mass of the Indian peoples".<sup>3</sup> It was not that Tantrism was not in theory open to all who could comprehend it. "Bien que la révélation s'adresse à tous, la voie tantrique comporte une initiation qui ne peut être effectuée que par un *guru*; d'où l'importance du Maître, qui seul peut transmettre, 'de bouche à oreille', la doctrine secrète, ésotérique."<sup>4</sup> Here is adequate support for the opinion of Prof. Basham, which I quoted at the beginning. I will conclude by repeating his words, as equally applicable to Indonesia, that the cosmic symbolism "seems of far less significance than some authorities are inclined to attribute to it. The symbolism seems always to have been somewhat esoteric, the preserve of schools of learned men who specialized in trying to explain every aspect of life by this means".

<sup>1</sup> J. Cuisinier, op. cit., p. 74.

<sup>2</sup> J. Hooykaas, "Upon a White Stone . . .," loc. cit., p. 330.

<sup>3</sup> M. Eliade, *Patterns* . . ., p. 147.

<sup>4</sup> M. Eliade, *Le Yoga*, Paris, 1954, p. 211.

# THE TRANSLATIONS OF AL-BIṬRĪQ AND YAḤYĀ (YUḤANNĀ) b. AL-BIṬRĪQ

By D. M. DUNLOP

ACCOUNTS OF THE two notable translators into Arabic, al-Biṭrīq and his son Yaḥyā are, even in our best works of reference, inadequate and often confused. One gathers the general impression that their translations were displaced by the works of Ḥunain b. Ishāq and his school, who flourished about sixty years later.<sup>1</sup> It is to this loss of popularity, it would seem, that the paucity of information about the two earlier translators and the limited number of existing MSS. of their works are due. Enough survives, however, to make clear that the translations of Yaḥyā b. al-Biṭrīq and his father covered a wide field, and that at one time their numerous works were well known.

The *Fihrist* states expressly what has sometimes been questioned, that they were two persons and not one, mentioning among the first translators: "Al-Biṭrīq. He was in the days of al-Manṣūr (i.e. 136/754–158/775), who ordered him to translate things from the old books. His son Abū Zakariyā' Yaḥyā b. al-Biṭrīq. He was in the company of al-Ḥasan b. Sahl."<sup>2</sup> In consonance with this notice the *Fihrist* speaks elsewhere explicitly of "Al-Biṭrīq, the father of Yaḥyā b. al-Biṭrīq" as the translator of a work of Ptolemy for the astrologer 'Umar b. al-Farrukhān.<sup>3</sup> The *Fihrist* also says that Ibn al-Biṭrīq was one of those commissioned by al-Ma'mūn to bring ancient scientific books from Greek territory and to translate those found.<sup>4</sup>

In a book composed in the same year as the *Fihrist*, i.e. in 377/987, the Spanish author Ibn Juljul mentions "Yuḥannā b. al-Biṭrīq, the translator, the freedman (*maulā*) of al-Ma'mūn. He was entrusted with translation (*amīn 'alā 't-tarjamah*), skilled in rendering meanings, but faltering in spoken Arabic. He translated much from the books of the ancients. . . . This Yuḥannā was not

<sup>1</sup> 'Abd al-Raḥmān Badawī, *Al-Uṣūl al-Yūnāniyah li'n-naẓariyat as-siyāsiyah fi'l-Islām, Dirāsāt Islāmīyah*, xv (Cairo, 1945), Introd. 41.

<sup>2</sup> Ed. Cairo, A.H. 1348, 340–1.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 381.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 339.



a doctor. Philosophy was more his forte. He served no king or *amīr* as physician.”<sup>1</sup>

Al-Qiftī in the thirteenth century quoted Ibn Juljul and added that Yuḥannā “was charged with (or undertook) the translation of the books of Aristotle in particular, and translated some of the books of Hippocrates, like Ḥunain and others.”<sup>2</sup>

Ibn abī Uṣaibi’ah, for his part, in the same thirteenth century, took up the words of the *Fihrist*: “Al-Biṭrīq. He was in the days of al-Manṣūr. He ordered him to translate things from the old books. There was much excellent translation by him, though it was below the standard of Ḥunain’s translation. I have found,” adds Ibn abī Uṣaibi’ah or his source, “many books of medicine, books by Hippocrates and Galen, in his translation.”<sup>3</sup> And Ibn abī Uṣaibi’ah writes of Yaḥyā b. al-Biṭrīq: “He was in the company of al-Ḥasan b. Sahl. He did not know Arabic properly nor Greek. He was simply a Latin (*Laṭīniyan*), knowing the language of the Byzantine Greeks of the present day and their script, which is the connected (minuscule) letters, not the ancient Greek unconnected letters (uncials).”<sup>4</sup> That Yaḥyā b. al-Biṭrīq was a Latin is a hard saying.

Ibn al-Biṭrīq’s contemporary fame as a translator is vouched for by references to him in the *Kitāb al-Ḥayawān* of Jāḥiẓ (see below), but nothing of a biographical character appears.

In general, the biographical data are meagre. Nothing is said of the origin of the family. The name is from Greek Πατρίκιος.<sup>5</sup> Clearly al-Biṭrīq, the father, had had a good education, but where it is impossible to say with certainty. Jundishāpūr would be a likely guess, yet he might have come originally from almost anywhere in the former Byzantine empire. The son, Yaḥyā b. al-Biṭrīq, is spoken of in the sources as in the entourage of al-Ḥasan b. Sahl, the vizier of al-Ma’mūn. Not much can be inferred from this. Al-Ḥasan himself, before becoming vizier on the death of his brother, had been a protégé of the Barmecides, and was of Persian

<sup>1</sup> *Ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā’ wa-l-ḥukamā’*, ed. Fu’ād Sayyid, *Textes et traductions d’auteurs orientaux*, Tome x (Cairo, 1955), 67.

<sup>2</sup> Ed. Lippert (Leipzig, 1903), 379.

<sup>3</sup> Ed. Müller, i, 205.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> Πατριάρχης on the other hand gave *Baṭrak*, *Baṭriyark*. The two words were liable to confusion. Thus the Latin translators sometimes rendered al-Biṭrīq by *Patriarcha*. See an example below (p. 146 (10)).

origin.<sup>1</sup> Yaḥyā b. al-Biṭrīq is also said to have been a *maulā* or freedman of al-Ma'mūn. This probably implies his conversion to Islam, where his father had remained a Christian. His case is comparable with that of the Armenian Abū'l-Ghiṭrīf al-Biṭrīq, patron of Qusṭā b. Luqā a little later. Abū'l-Ghiṭrīf al-Biṭrīq was also a *maulā* of one of the Caliphs.<sup>2</sup> Rather similarly the Sanbatid al-'Abbās, ruler of Armenia *circa* 929-953, whose name indicates that he was a Muslim, was styled *Biṭrīq al-Baṭāriqah*.<sup>3</sup>

Owing to the similarity of their names, there has been a good deal of confusion between father and son. It is, however, possible to draw up two lists of works, the first containing those of al-Biṭrīq, written (if we are to trust the indication of the *Fihrist*) mainly under al-Manṣūr, the second containing works of Yaḥyā b. al-Biṭrīq, composed at the beginning of the ninth century. There is no difficulty about translation on a somewhat extensive scale as early as the Caliphate of al-Manṣūr (754-775). We have already a number of indications that it had begun earlier, in the time of the Umayyads.<sup>4</sup>

The list of works of the father, al-Biṭrīq, is the shorter.

(1) The *Kitāb al-arba'ah*, i.e. the *Τετραβιβλος* or *Quadripartitus* of Ptolemy. According to al-Qiftī a commentary on al-Biṭrīq's translation of this work was made by 'Umar b. Farrukhān in the days of al-Ma'mūn.<sup>5</sup> The *Fihrist* says that al-Biṭrīq translated it for 'Umar b. Farrukhān.<sup>6</sup>

(2) The *Kitāb al-ghidhā'*, i.e. the *Περὶ τροφῆς* or *De Alimento*, attributed to Hippocrates. This has been signalized by H. Ritter and R. Walzer in an Istanbul MS.<sup>7</sup> The work is mentioned without the name of a translator by Ibn abi Uṣaibi'ah.<sup>8</sup>

(3) *Al-adwiyah al-mufradah*, i.e. *Simplicia*, of Galen. This work is cited in al-Biṭrīq's translation by Maimonides, Serapion Junior,

<sup>1</sup> *Al-Fakhrī*, ed. H. Derenbourg, 304.

<sup>2</sup> Ibn abi Uṣaibi'ah, i, 244.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> E.g. the story of the translation by Māsarjawaih of a work on medicine before the time of 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz (Ibn Juljul, *Ṭabaqāt*, 61). Cf. also Mas'ūdī, *Tanbih*, ed. Cairo, 1938, 92-3.

<sup>5</sup> Ed. Lippert, 242.

<sup>6</sup> Ed. Cairo, 381. If this is to be taken literally, it seems to put the activity of al-Biṭrīq later than is usually supposed.

<sup>7</sup> H. Ritter and R. Walzer, "Arabische Übersetzungen griechischer Ärzte in Stambuler Bibliotheken," *Sitzungsberichte der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Phil.-Hist. Klasse, 1934, 801-846 (Hippokrates, No. 2).

<sup>8</sup> i, 32.

and Ibn al-Baitār, as Steinschneider pointed out a long time ago,<sup>1</sup> yet the Arabic biographical sources know only of a translation by Ḥunain. A short work *On Medicaments* attested in Istanbul by Ritter and Walzer is perhaps the same.<sup>2</sup>

(4) The *Maqālah fī taḥrīm ad-daḥn qabl arba' wa-'ashrīn sā'ah*, the *De Prohibenda Sepultura*, i.e. prohibition of burial within twenty-four hours of death, attributed to Galen.<sup>3</sup> Maimonides cites the translation of al-Biṭrīq in his *Aphorisms*.<sup>4</sup>

(5) The *Kitāb al-asābi'*, i.e. the *Περὶ ἐβδομάδων* or *De Septimanis*, attributed to Hippocrates, with commentary of pseudo-Galen. This work has been edited by Bergstraesser.<sup>5</sup> Bergstraesser at first attributed the translation to Yaḥyā b. al-Biṭrīq, but later changed his opinion.<sup>6</sup>

(6) The *Maqālah fī'l-yarqān*, i.e. *De Cura Icteri* (jaundice) of pseudo-Galen is also probably a translation of al-Biṭrīq.<sup>7</sup> It is so mentioned by Bergstraesser.<sup>8</sup>

Of these six translations five are of a medical character. These alone—there were doubtless others of which we have at present no record—may be said to justify the statement already quoted from Ibn abī Uṣaibi'ah to the effect that al-Biṭrīq translated many books by Hippocrates and Galen.

The son Yaḥyā b. al-Biṭrīq cast his net wider, and is perhaps the first translator of philosophical works in Islam.<sup>9</sup> What his work

<sup>1</sup> "Die toxicologischen Schriften der Araber bis Ende XII. Jahrhunderts," *Virchows Archiv*, Band 52 (1871), 366.

<sup>2</sup> Op. cit., 827.

<sup>3</sup> Ibn abī Uṣaibi'ah, i, 102.

<sup>4</sup> Steinschneider, *Virchows Archiv*, 1871, 365; the same, "Die griechischen Aerzte in arabischen Übersetzungen," *Virchows Archiv*, Band 124 (1891), 461, where 72 hours are mentioned, not 24.

<sup>5</sup> *Pseudogalenī in Hippocratis de Septimanis Commentarium, Corpus Medicorum Graecorum*, xi, 2, 1 (Leipzig and Berlin, 1914).

<sup>6</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, xv.

<sup>7</sup> Mentioned without the name of a translator by Ibn abī Uṣaibi'ah (i, 102), who cites Ḥunain to the effect that the work had not survived. If this is so, then the work said to have been translated by Ibn al-Biṭrīq may be the *Maqālah fī'l-yarqān wa'l-marār* (?), attributed to Hippocrates by Ibn abī Uṣaibi'ah (i, 34). Cf. Steinschneider, *Virchows Archiv*, 1891, 460 (No. 95).

<sup>8</sup> Loc. cit.

<sup>9</sup> In the list of translators in the *Fihrist* (ed. Cairo, 340) only "Iṣṭifan the Old" (associated with Khālīd b. Yazīd) and his father al-Biṭrīq are mentioned before Yaḥyā b. al-Biṭrīq. In another list (Ibn abī Uṣaibi'ah, i, 188) Aṣṭāth and Ibn Bakus precede the father, al-Biṭrīq. This can hardly mean that they were earlier in time, since Aṣṭāth translated for al-Kindī (born about A.D. 800), cf. *Fihrist*, 352, and Ibn Bakus (Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm b. Bakus, or Bakūs, al-'Ashshārī ?, cf. *Fihrist*,

consisted in can be seen to some extent from the list of his translations.

(1) *Kitāb Timāus*, i.e. the *Timaeus* of Plato, mentioned by al-Mas'ūdī in the *Tanbīh*,<sup>1</sup> as well as our more usual sources, the *Fihrist*<sup>2</sup> and al-Qiftī.<sup>3</sup> The *Fihrist* says it was translated by Ibn al-Biṭrīq and retranslated or corrected by Ḥunain b. Ishāq.<sup>4</sup>

(2) *Kitāb as-samā' wa'l-'ālam*, i.e. the *De Coelo* of Aristotle, Ibn al-Biṭrīq being mentioned in the *Fihrist* as the translator.<sup>5</sup> There is a MS. in the British Museum.<sup>6</sup> The *Fihrist* mentions as before that Ibn al-Biṭrīq's work was corrected by Ḥunain b. Ishāq.<sup>7</sup>

(3) *Al-Athār al-'alawīyah*, i.e. the *Meteors* of Aristotle, MSS. of which are mentioned by Walzer<sup>8</sup> and Badawī.<sup>9</sup> Ibn al-Biṭrīq is not mentioned as translator by any source except the comparatively late Ḥājjī Khalifah.<sup>10</sup>

(4) *Ṭabā'i' al-ḥayawān*, Aristotle, *De Animalibus*, in nineteen books, i.e. a combination of the various zoological works of Aristotle. This is perhaps to be found in a MS. in the British Museum.<sup>11</sup> Again the work appears to have been translated by Yaḥyā b. al-Biṭrīq and corrected by Ḥunain.<sup>12</sup> A number of quotations evidently from this translation are given by al-Jāḥiẓ in his *Kitāb al-ḥayawān*, as is well known.<sup>13</sup> Some of these reappear in Ibn Qutaibah's *Uyūn al-akhbār*.<sup>14</sup> It is interesting to find them again in the *Iqd* of Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, where the source is presumably again al-Jāḥiẓ rather than the original translation.<sup>15</sup>

349, 351; Ibn abī Uṣaibi'ah, i, 205) corrected earlier translations and was scarcely among the first of the translators himself. In other lists Ibn al-Biṭrīq is mentioned first (e.g. al-Jāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, ed. 'Abd as-Salām Hārūn, i, 76).

<sup>1</sup> *Tanbīh*, ed. Cairo, 1938, 138-9.

<sup>2</sup> Ed. Cairo, 344.

<sup>3</sup> Ed. Lippert, 18. Al-Qiftī says that it was corrected by Yaḥyā b. 'Adī.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> Ed. Cairo, 351.

<sup>6</sup> MS. Add. 7453.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

<sup>8</sup> MS. Yeni Çami 1179, R. Walzer, "Arabische Aristoteles-Übersetzungen in Istanbul," *Gnomon*, 1934, 278.

<sup>9</sup> *Al-Uṣūl*, 34 (Hebrew MS. 378 of the Vatican Library).

<sup>10</sup> v, 31, No. 9760.

<sup>11</sup> MS. Add. 7511.

<sup>12</sup> Houtsma, *Catalogue of the Leiden University Library*, 581 (?), cited Badawī, *Al-Uṣūl*, 35.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. i, 183-4; ii, 50; vii, 33; vii, 184.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. B. Lewin in *Oriens*, vol. 5 (1952), 355 ff.

<sup>15</sup> Ed. Cairo, A.H. 1331, iv, 261; iv, 262.

(5) *Jawāmi' kitāb an-nafs*, i.e. a compendium of the *De Anima* of Aristotle, as we are informed by the *Fihrist*<sup>1</sup> and al-Qiftī.<sup>2</sup>

(6) The recently-published *Manṭiq Aristū* of 'Abd ar-Raḥmān Badawī mentions (in the commentary to a version of the *Prior Analytics*)<sup>3</sup> an otherwise unknown translation of that work by Ibn al-Biṭrīq.<sup>4</sup> This appears to be a significant instance. The translation of Yaḥyā b. al-Biṭrīq has here been superseded so effectually that it is only by chance that we know anything about it.

The remaining books on the list are medical.

(7) *Kitāb 'alāmāt al-qaḍāyā*, otherwise *Kitāb fī'l-buthūr*, or simply *Fī'l-maut*, in Latin *De Indiciis Mortis* or *De Pustulis et Apostematibus Significantibus Mortem*, attributed to Hippocrates.<sup>5</sup> This little work was signalized by Ritter and Walzer in two Istanbul MSS.,<sup>6</sup> by Badawī in a Paris MS.,<sup>7</sup> and there are a number of others in existence.<sup>8</sup>

(8) *Kitāb at-tiryāq ilā Fīṣūn*, i.e. Galen's *De Theriaca ad Pisonem*, mentioned by the *Fihrist*<sup>9</sup> and al-Qiftī,<sup>10</sup> also by Ḥunain b. Iṣḥāq,

<sup>1</sup> Ed. Cairo, 352.

<sup>2</sup> Ed. Lippert, 41.

<sup>3</sup> The translator is given as a certain Tadhārī, or Theodore (*Fihrist*, 348). Badawī (Introd. 16 ff.) points out that there is a difficulty in identifying this translator with Theodore Abū Qurrah, since in the *Fihrist* the translator Theodore is said to have brought it (*'araḍahu*) to Ḥunain who corrected it, which chronologically is hardly possible. (Abū Qurrah died about A.D. 820, when Ḥunain was still very young.) Steinschneider's suggestion (*Die arabischen Uebersetzungen aus dem Griechischen*, in *Zwölftes Beiheft zum Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, Leipzig, 1893, 41, § 22), Thādārī, Bishop in al-Karkh (Ibn abī Uṣaibi'ah, i, 206), appears to have been a patron of translators (cf. the heading, *ibid.*, 205) rather than a translator himself. Walzer, following P. Kraus (*RSO.*, xiv, 1932, 3, n. 3), accepts Theodore Abū Qurrah as translator of the *Prior Analytics* ("New Light on the Arabic Translations of Aristotle", *Oriens*, vol. vi, 1953, 99). But while the reading "Abū Qurrah" in al-Jāhiz, *Ḥayawān*, i, 78, is in the MSS., there is some doubt whether Ibn Qurrah, i.e. Thābit b. Qurrah, the well-known translator, is not intended. Cf. the editor's note. This would also presumably apply to the other passage, i, 76, which Kraus had in mind. Theodore Abū Qurrah appears as a distinguished theologian and active controversialist, rather than as a translator, and he appears to be nowhere specifically mentioned as such except in the passages just referred to.

<sup>4</sup> *Manṭiq Aristū*, i (Cairo, 1948), 112, n. 5. Cf. Walzer, *Oriens*, vi, 1953, 116.

<sup>5</sup> Ibn abī Uṣaibi'ah (i, 33) gives *K. 'alāmāt al-qaḍāyā* and *K. fī'l-buthūr* as separate titles. Cf. Steinschneider, *Virchows Archiv*, 1891, 131, § 15 and 134-5, § 24.

<sup>6</sup> Aya Sofya, 3706, 4, and Köprülü, 885, 3. Op. cit., 811 (Hippocrates, No. 14).

<sup>7</sup> MS. ar. 2946.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. D. Campbell, *Arabian Medicine*, i (1926), 19.

<sup>9</sup> Ed. Cairo, 405.

<sup>10</sup> Ed. Lippert, 131.



who says that he has a copy among his books, and he *supposes* that it is the work of Yaḥyā b. al-Biṭrīq.<sup>1</sup> The work has been signalized in an Istanbul MS. by Ritter and Walzer.<sup>2</sup>

(9) We hear also of the *Kitāb al-birsām* of Alexander, i.e. a work on pleurisy by Alexander of Tralles. This is stated by the *Fihrist* and al-Qifṭī to have been translated by Ibn al-Biṭrīq for al-Qaḥṭabī.<sup>3</sup> Al-Qaḥṭabī—the name surely means descendant of Qaḥṭabah, the general of Abū Muslim<sup>4</sup>—wrote a work *Fī 'r-radd 'alā 'n-Naṣūrā*.<sup>5</sup> We may suppose that if this is the man, the dedication to him was *post* Ibn al-Biṭrīq's conversion to Islam. This translation is quoted in the Latin *Continens* as *Birsēn*.<sup>6</sup>

(10) The *Fihrist* mentions two other books by Ibn al-Biṭrīq, the first a *Kitāb as-sumūmāt*,<sup>7</sup> *Book of Poisons*, which no doubt stands in some relation to the *Kitāb Shānāq fī 's-sumūm wa 't-tiryāq*, of the Indian Čanākya, which was translated in the Caliphate of al-Ma'mūn.<sup>8</sup> The *Continens* of Rhazes has *Filius Patriarchae in libro suo de tossicis*,<sup>9</sup> obviously for *Ibn al-Biṭrīq de toxicis*. It is not clear if this was simply a translation of the *Book of Shānāq*. In the preface of the printed edition of that work<sup>10</sup> it is stated to have been translated from Sanskrit into Persian by Mankah the Indian, assisted by Abū Ḥātim al-Balkhī, then rendered, evidently into Arabic, for al-Ma'mūn by al-'Abbās b. Sa'id al-Jauharī,<sup>11</sup> i.e. Ibn al-Biṭrīq's name is not mentioned.

(11) The other book mentioned by the *Fihrist* in the same place is a *Kitāb ajnās al-ḥaṣharāt li 'bn al-Biṭrīq*, *Book of the Kinds of*

<sup>1</sup> G. Bergstraesser, *Ḥunain b. Ishāq über die syrischen u. arabischen Galen-Übersetzungen, Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, Band XVII (Leipzig, 1925-8), Arabic text, 39 (transl. 31).

<sup>2</sup> Aya Sofya, 3590, 3. Op. cit., 811 (Galen, No. 22).

<sup>3</sup> Ed. Lippert, 55 = *Fihrist*, ed. Cairo, 408.

<sup>4</sup> Qaḥṭabah was succeeded by his son al-Ḥasan after his mysterious death at Wāsit (Ibn Qutaibah, *Ma'ārif*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 188). Then Shabīb b. Ḥumaid b. Qaḥṭabah was *hājib* to al-Ma'mūn (Mas'ūdi, *Tanbih*, ed. 1938, 305).

<sup>5</sup> *Fihrist*, ed. Cairo, 479.

<sup>6</sup> Steinschneider, *Virchows Archiv*, 1891, 485, §2.

<sup>7</sup> Ed. Cairo, 440.

<sup>8</sup> Ibn abī Uṣaibi'ah, ii, 33.

<sup>9</sup> Steinschneider, *Virchows Archiv*, 1871, 367.

<sup>10</sup> Ed. B. Strauss, *Quellen u. Studien zur Geschichte der Naturwissenschaft*, B. IV, ii (Berlin, 1935), 26 (pages 3-4 of the Arabic text). This passage is obviously the source of Ibn abī Uṣaibi'ah's information (cf. n. 8).

<sup>11</sup> Al-Jauharī is mentioned elsewhere as a translator, e.g. in aṣ-Ṣafadī, *Al-gharīḥ al-musajjam fī sharḥ Lāmīyat al-'Ajam* (cited by F. Rosenthal, *Isis*, vol. xxxvi, 253, followed by R. Walzer, *Oriens*, vol. vi, 1953, 114, n. 1).

*Reptiles* (less probably : *Insects*) by Ibn al-Biṭrīq. This is evidently regarded by the author of the *Fihrist* as another work on pharmacology. It should stand in some relation to the *Kitāb ra'y al-Hindī fī ajnās al-ḥaiyāt wa-sumūmiḥā* mentioned elsewhere in the *Fihrist*.<sup>1</sup>

*Habent sua fata libelli*. None of these works has made more stir in the world of letters, since the early days of Islam, it is safe to say, than the *Kitāb as-siyāsah fī tadbīr ar-riyāsah*, the spurious *Politics* of Aristotle, better known as *Sirr al-asrār*, the translation of which is ascribed to Yuḥannā b. al-Biṭrīq. The book was widely read in Arabic. Badawī was able to collate as many as eighteen MSS. for his recent edition,<sup>2</sup> six of them from Paris alone, and many others exist.<sup>3</sup> MSS. of the Latin version (or versions) *Secretum Secretorum* are very numerous, and the book gained a further wide diffusion by translation into the vernaculars of Europe, as is well known. The *Secretum Secretorum* was accepted as a genuine work of Aristotle, even by Roger Bacon.<sup>4</sup>

The *Kitāb as-siyāsah fī tadbīr ar-riyāsah* is first mentioned, so far as we know, by the Spaniard Ibn Juljul, who quotes it twice in his *Ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā' wa'l-ḥukamā'*, written in 377/987 and excellently edited in 1955 by Fu'ād Sayyid.<sup>5</sup> The preface appears here as follows<sup>6</sup>: "Yuḥannā mentioned that he had gone to look for it (i.e. presumably the *Politics* of Aristotle) and visited the temples in search of it, until he came to the temple of 'Abd Shams, which Hermes the Great built for himself to praise therein God, who is exalted. He continued: I found there a devout monk, very learned and understanding, to whom I made myself agreeable and employed *finesse*, till he gave me access to the volumes deposited in the temple. I found among them the object of my search, which the Commander of the Faithful instructed me to look

<sup>1</sup> Ed. Cairo, 421. Cf. Steinschneider, *Virchows Archiv*, 1871, 349, who would read *al-Hind* for *al-Hindī*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. p. 140, n. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Fu'ād Sayyid, *op. cit.*, 67-8, nn.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. R. Steele (*Opera hactenus inedita Rogeri Baconi*, Fasc. v, Oxford, 1920, viii): "The *Secretum Secretorum* exercised so great an influence on the mental development of Roger Bacon that merely on this ground a study of it would be interesting. From his first work to his last he quotes it as an authority, and there can be no doubt that it fortified, if it did not create, his belief in astrology and natural magic. It came to him and his contemporaries as an unquestioned work of Aristotle."

<sup>5</sup> Cf. p. 141, n. 1.

<sup>6</sup> *Ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā' wa'l-ḥukamā'*, 67. The other passage where the *Sirr al-asrār* is cited is 26 ff.

for, written in gold. So I returned to the victorious presence, possessing what I sought." The late Paul Sbath seems to have been alone in supposing that this refers to an actual visit of Ibn al-Biṭrīq to Baalbek,<sup>1</sup> ancient Heliopolis, where certainly there was in antiquity a very famous temple of the sun, whose ruins still stand. Badawī, who recalls the account of a visit to an ancient temple in Greek territory in the time of Saif ad-Daulah, mentioned in the *Fihrist*, when many ancient books were seen,<sup>2</sup> thinks that this preface was intended by Ibn al-Biṭrīq to impress the Caliph and interest potential readers.<sup>3</sup> It is an invention, but none the less the work which follows, the *Sirr al-asrār*, or strictly the nucleus of it, was translated by Ibn al-Biṭrīq. When he says elsewhere that he rendered it from Greek (*Yunānī*) into *Rūmī*, then from *Rūmī* into Arabic, this means that it was translated by Ibn al-Biṭrīq from a Greek MS., first into Syriac, then into Arabic, as was often done in those days.<sup>4</sup> But (to mention no other objections) what kind of Greek MS. contained the *Sirr al-asrār*, or even the "nucleus" of it?<sup>5</sup> Have we real examples elsewhere of *Rūmī* signifying Syriac? *Rūmī* should stand for Greek or Latin. What evidence is there even that Ibn al-Biṭrīq knew Syriac? It seems a good deal more plausible that the whole preface, like the rest of the book, is a fabrication. A somewhat close parallel is offered, it would seem, by the *Kitāb adh-dhakhīrah*, *Book of the Treasure of Alexander*.<sup>6</sup> This also has a preface by Muḥammad b. Khālīd, a known astrologer,<sup>7</sup> who is represented as having found the book in a church in Amorium ('Ammūriyah) when that city fell to the Muslims, and as having translated it from Greek and *Rūmīyah* at the command of al-Mu'tasim. The main part of the book begins with a dedication by Aristotle to his pupil Alexander, saying that Hermes the Great

<sup>1</sup> *Bibliothèque des MSS. Paul Sbath*, ii (Cairo, 1928), 86, No. 884.

<sup>2</sup> Ed. Cairo, 340.

<sup>3</sup> *Al-Uṣūl*, 33.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 42, 45.

<sup>5</sup> According to R. Steele (cf. p. 147, n. 4), xiii, the "main body" of the work consists of "discourses" 1-3. But part of it, *al-Qawl fī'l-ghālīb wa'l-maghḥub* (see below, pp. 149, 150), certainly seems to have a Greek origin. P. Tannéry (*Notices et Extraits des MSS. de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Tome xxxi, ii, 1886, 248-250) reproduces the Greek text of a "Letter of Pythagoras to Telauges", where a method for determining the victor of two contestants from the numerical value of the letters of their names is described.

<sup>6</sup> Steinschneider, *Die arabischen Uebersetzungen aus dem Griechischen*, 90, § 23, from whom the following details are taken.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. H. Suter, *Die Mathematiker und Astronomen der Araber und ihre Werke. Abhandlungen zur Gesch. der mat.-Wissenschaften*, x (Leipzig, 1900), 26, No. 40.

was the author, and that it had been discovered by Balīnas (Apollonius of Tyana) and left to Aristotle. This book also, like the *Sirr al-asrār*, is divided into ten sections, and it ends with an epilogue by Alexander. The work deals with elixirs and talismans, and is obviously a special kind of fiction, popular at the time. The same doubtless applies to the *Sirr al-asrār*, which was popular for centuries. It may be suggested that the explanation of *Laḫmīyān* applied to Ibn al-Bitrīq by Ibn abī Uṣāibi'ah<sup>1</sup> is this *Rūmī* in the preface, into which he first translates.

The question of the real authorship of the *Sirr al-asrār* scarcely arises, since the materials for a solution are lacking. In its present form it cannot be earlier than about A.D. 940, since it contains in the fourth *maqālah*, more or less *verbatim*, the list of twelve or thirteen qualities which al-Fārābī in his *Madīnah fāḍilah* requires of his ideal ruler.<sup>2</sup> These are now applied by the pseudo-Aristotle to the vizier of Alexander.<sup>3</sup> The date of the *Madīnah fāḍilah* is disputed, or perhaps I should say unknown, but it seems to have been written towards the end of al-Fārābī's life, and al-Fārābī died in 339/950 or 951. A *terminus ad quem* of a sort is provided by the date of Ibn Juljul's book (377/987).<sup>4</sup> Within these two dates we should have to place the authorship, i.e. between about 940 and 987.

Some circumstances seem to point to the geographer al-Hamdānī as a possible author. Al-Hamdānī, who died in prison at Ṣan'ā' in 946,<sup>5</sup> is best known for his *Kitāb al-iklīl* and the *Ṣifah jazīrat al-'Arab*. It is somewhat surprising to find him mentioned in the *Ṭabaqāt al-umam* as one of the only two eminent philosophers of pure Arab race, the other being the celebrated al-Kindī.<sup>6</sup> What philosophical works did al-Hamdānī write? Can he be the author? We hear of a *Sirr al-asrār* with al-Yamanī or Aḥmed al-Yamanī as the author.<sup>7</sup> But al-Hamdānī, the South Arabian, is well called al-Yamanī. Also there is a part of our *Sirr al-asrār*, called in the text *Al-qawl fī'l-ghālīb wa'l-maghlūb*,<sup>8</sup> dealing with a highly superstitious method of determining which of two con-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. p. 141.

<sup>2</sup> Ed. Dieterici (Leiden, 1895), 59-60.

<sup>3</sup> *Al-Uṣūl, Maqālah*, 4, 138-9.

<sup>4</sup> I.e. the same year as the *Fihrist*, which does not mention the *Sirr al-asrār*.

<sup>5</sup> *Ṭabaqāt al-umam*, ed. Cheikho (Beyrouth, 1912), 59.

<sup>6</sup> Ed. Cheikho, 45.

<sup>7</sup> *Hājjī Khalīfa* iii, 591 (No. 7102); *Defteri Kütübhāne'i Aya Sofia* (Istanbul, 1304), 174.

<sup>8</sup> *Al-Uṣūl*, 152-5. See also above, p. 148, n. 5.

testants will be victorious in war from the numerical value of the letters in the names of the commanders. This sometimes appears separately in MSS. as *Kitāb al-ghālīb wa'l-maghlūb*.<sup>1</sup> In one MS. the work is actually ascribed to al-Hamdānī.<sup>2</sup> Was he then author of the whole book? It seems not. His style is quite different from that of the *Sirr al-asrār*.<sup>3</sup> He wrote *inter alia* a *Kitāb sarā'ir al-ḥikmah*, i.e. *Book of the Secrets of Wisdom*, now lost, an exhaustive work on astronomy and astrology.<sup>4</sup> This would seem to be the origin of the notices of al-Yamanī. If so, the *Sirr al-asrār* of al-Yamanī is due to a confusion,<sup>5</sup> and al-Hamdānī's philosophical reputation does not depend on the *Politics* of the pseudo-Aristotle.

One further remark. The Fārābī passage pointing to a date later than 940 may be an addition. The celebrated Jāḥiẓ, who died 255/868, according to al-Mas'ūdī, once complained that people were only interested in his books when he brought them out under some famous name, like Ibn al-Muqaffa' or Sahl b. Hārūn. When he published them under his own name they were neglected.<sup>6</sup> But if al-Jāḥiẓ actually said this seriously, what books of his did he publish under another name? Do we know any of these? It would be pleasant to think that the *Kitāb as-siyāsah fī tadbīr ar-riyāsah*, attributed to Aristotle in Ibn al-Biṭrīq's translation, which captured the attention of the learned Roger Bacon, was no more than a *jeu d'esprit* of the master of Basrah. But it is more likely to have been written by some man of talent in the next century.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> I have examined photostats of the work in the Paris MSS. ar. 666, 59a-65a; 2718, 156a-159a; and 2761, 57b-62a. These vary little. Ibn Khaldūn, always interested in matters of this kind, refers to the *Kitāb as-siyāsah al-mansūb li-Aristū* (*Muqaddimāt*, ed. Cairo, 114 = tr. F. Rosenthal, I, 235) for what he calls *hisāb an-nīm . . . yu'rafu bihi al-ghālīb min al-maghlūb*. Is the enigmatic *nīm* a corruption of Gk. *πυθμήν* "root number"? On the other hand, Ibn abi Usaibi'ah mentions (i, 69) a work of Aristotle, *Kitāb al-yatīm wa-huwa kitāb al-ghālīb wa'l-maghlūb wa't-tālib wa'l-maṭlūb allafahu li'l-Iskandar*. It seems that *nīm* in Ibn Khaldūn may easily come from *yatīm*.

<sup>2</sup> Brockelmann, *G.A.L.*, ed. 2, I, 263.

<sup>3</sup> See e.g. a translation of part of his *Kitāb al-jawharatāin* in D. M. Dunlop, "Sources of Gold and Silver in Islam according to al-Hamdānī," in *Islamica*, VIII (1959), 29-49.

<sup>4</sup> *Ṭabaqāt al-umam*, 59.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Steinschneider, *Alfarabi*, *Mém. Acad. Imp. St.-Petersbourg*, vii<sup>e</sup> Série, T. xiii, No. 4 (St. Petersburg, 1869), 142.

<sup>6</sup> *Tamhīk*, 66-7.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. al-Ḥasan b. an-Nakad al-Mausilī mentioned as the author of alchemical works which he passed off as having been written by Jābir (cf. P. Kraus, *Jābir ibn Ḥayyān*, *Mém. Instit. Égypte*, Tome 44, Cairo, 1943, I, lxiii, n. 9).



## REVIEWS OF BOOKS

### Far East

THE OPIUM WAR THROUGH CHINESE EYES. By ARTHUR WALEY, pp. 257. George Allen and Unwin, 1958. 21s.

Since the Communist Revolution, Chinese historians, working co-operatively, have published collections of source material on Chinese history which follow a traditional model. Those published up to 1957 relate to the Opium War, the "T'ai-p'ing Heavenly Kingdom", the Nien Army, the Muslim Rebellions, the Sino-French War, the Sino-Japanese War, the Reform Movement of 1898, and the Boxer Uprising—a total of some 22,500 pages. The facts are not interpreted except in the short prefaces which assert, rather than argue, that the events described are successive phases in the unfolding of Chinese history as foretold by Karl Marx. Quotations from the writings of Marx and Engels have pride of place in the collection on the Opium War, and from Lenin in that on the Boxer Uprising. As one reviewer has remarked, the sequence forms a kind of morality play in which the forces of light are represented by the "People" and those of darkness by the "Capitalist Imperialists". However, non-Marxist historians are free to place what interpretation they please on the facts as presented.

Dr. Waley, dealing with modern Chinese history for the first time in his career, has singled out the collection on the Opium War for attention. He spends no time in discussing the war and its origins, but picks out from the collection documents which he regards as specially worthy of translation,—notably the diary of Commissioner Lin and documents bearing on the career of that remarkable character, the Reverend Charles Gutzlaff, the Pomeranian missionary who commenced his mission to the Chinese as interpreter to the Jardine Matheson opium ship, the *Sylph*, with (as someone has aptly put it) "Opium in one hand and the Bible in the other". Other translations are of an account (in verse and prose) of the unsuccessful Chinese attempt to recapture Ningpo in 1842, and of a poetic tribute to Gutzlaff in his capacity of magistrate of Ting-hai.

Commissioner Lin, who is characterized in contemporary British documents and speeches as an ignorant and arrogant fanatic, emerges in this book as an official of high integrity, doing what he considered best for his Emperor and his country. Though making a painstaking attempt to understand the ways and outlook of the foreigners (including their ideas of international law), he is handicapped by the incompetence of the Chinese "linguists" as translators of foreign books. In his private capacity, Commissioner Lin is seen to be a scholar and a poet who writes verses on fans to present to friends. He is also (as Dr. Waley points out) a strict Sabbatarian, like his enemies, the British

opium-smugglers, and worships at the temple of Kwan Yin, and on the first and fifteenth of each moon at the altars of his ancestors.

Lin's weakness is his credulity. He accepts without question the reports of fictitious successes gained by his subordinates, especially at sea, and in consequence deceives the Emperor in turn. Indeed, the Chinese official practice of anticipating successes and of covering up defeats in glowing reports meant that the Emperor was the worst informed person in China, and it is difficult to see how he could be expected to formulate an effective policy on the misinformation with which he was systematically fed. Ten days before the great Chinese counter-offensive of February, 1842, the general in command of the Chinese forces ordered the numerous literary men on his staff to compose epics celebrating the coming victory. (When the public relations department of the Chinese War Office was called "The Department for the Announcement of Victories", there was little scope for the correction of reverses when they occurred.)

Among the many sidelights on Chinese history in this book is the one provided by the translation of Commissioner Lin's travelling-pass. "It might have been expected (Dr. Waley remarks) that the object of a pass issued to a Special Commissioner would have been to secure for him special privileges and facilities during his journey. But not at all! The aim of the document is to assert the rights, not of the august traveller himself, but those of the officials, rest-houses and relay-stations whose duty would be to receive him." During the reign of Ch'ien Lung, it had been the practice for high officials, who were then nearly always Manchus, to travel with hundreds of armed retainers whose exactions terrorized the countryside, but on that Emperor's death in 1799, steps were taken to put an end to the abuse—at any rate on paper.

Dr. Waley's great strength is his ability to limit himself to tasks he knows that he can perform, and then he does them consummately well. Thus he avoids the criticism that is bound to be hurled at anyone who attempts the reconsideration of Chinese history in the light of these new collections of material, taking account of the current Marxist or anti-Marxist interpretations. The fact that he has abstained throughout the years from physical contact with China means that he can approach Chinese history with a detachment impossible to Europeans with long personal association with the terrain and first-hand experience of the issues at stake. But his lifetime of concentration on the technique of translation of Chinese into English places him in a superior position, linguistically and semantically, to those lesser students of Chinese for whom an acquaintance with the language is only one imperfect tool among the several imperfect tools with which they have to work. However, Dr. Waley wears his scholarship so lightly and commands an English of such ease and fluency that he confers corresponding qualities

on his Chinese originals Commissioner Lin was a stylist himself, and the reader of this book must feel assured that if in his Confucian heaven (alas, a mere figure of speech!) the Commissioner were able to read and comprehend Dr. Waley's rendering of his own words, a smile of scholarly satisfaction would steal across his countenance.

VICTOR PURCELL.

SSŪ-MA CH'ÏEN GRAND HISTORIAN OF CHINA. By BURTON WATSON. pp. xi + 276. Columbia University Press (London, Oxford University Press), 1958. 40s.

The subject of this book is the major context in which the *Shih chi* should be viewed. The author provides an account of the historical, political and literary background against which Ssū-ma Ch'ien worked, and assesses that writer's contribution to the form that Chinese histories were to take; the final chapter is concerned with the thought of Ssū-ma Ch'ien as this is revealed in the *Shih chi*. Readers will be grateful for the translations included to illustrate the text, and for the additional explanatory material provided in the notes. The bibliography of Chinese, Japanese and western works omits mention of studies by F. Jäger on some of the chapters of the *Shih chi* and of C. S. Gardner's *Chinese traditional historiography*. A recent Chinese work, which provides an invaluable list of the editions of the *Shih chi* and of secondary Chinese studies (*Shih chi yen chiu ti tzü liao ho lun wên so yin* 史記研究的資料和論文索引, K'o hsüeh ch'u pan shê, Peking, 1957) was probably published too late for inclusion. Both linguists and historians may feel some regret that more space is not given in the notes to an amplification of those of Dr. Watson's views which are new or are likely to lead to controversy.

The value of the *Shih chi* to students of Chinese literature and history needs no emphasis, and the influence exercised by the work is such that the correct assessment of the *Shih chi*'s significance remains a primary task for scholars. We still await a comprehensive examination of the textual history of the *Shih chi*, together with an assessment of how far our present version represents the original document as it left Ssū-ma Ch'ien's hands, or how far this was remodelled during the Later Han dynasty. Individual chapters have been studied and their source material discussed, and Takigawa's edition includes a list of works on which Ssū-ma Ch'ien drew; no overall study of this problem, however, has yet been made. Moreover it is possible that an investigation of the language or style of the text might reveal criteria for attempting a discrimination between the work of Ssū-ma T'an, Ssū-ma Ch'ien and later interpolators. The answers to other questions, concerning, for example, Ssū-ma Ch'ien's reliability in selecting dependable material and rejecting unfounded hearsay, or the inhibitions and prejudices of

the compiler of our present version, must properly await the critical examination of more fundamental problems.

M. LOEWE.

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THE MESSAGE OF MILAREPA. A section of poems translated from the Tibetan by Sir HUMPHREY CLARKE, Bt. pp. 106. John Murray, London, 1958.

This volume contains fifty-four poems extracted from the *mcGur-'bum* of Mi-la Ras-pa. No references are given to folios of the original and none to any previous translations. The mere mention in the very short preface to the translations of Mi-la Ras-pa's biography (*rNam-thar*) by Evans-Wentz and Bacot is just sufficient to put this collection of poems in a comprehensible context for the general reader. The translations are accurate enough for a work rightly meant to please and arouse interest in the most renowned practiser of a great religious tradition. Sir Humphrey Clarke interprets with sympathy and understanding and it would be unfair to take him to task for the absence of any critical notes. He should, however, have related his extracts to his block-print by means of brief references. As it is, he takes no account of the really serious reader. It will be interesting to see how such a book is received by a wider public. Can one in fact so simplify such teachings as these? The passing reference to Evans-Wentz' *Tibetan Yoga and Secret Doctrines* is far from sufficient.

D. L. SNELLGROVE.

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MK'YEN BTSE'S GUIDE TO THE HOLY PLACES OF CENTRAL TIBET. By ALFONSA FERRARI†, completed and edited by LUCIANO PETECH, with the collaboration of HUGH RICHARDSON. pp. 199, 53 illustrations and 3 maps. Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, Rome, 1958.

We must congratulate Professor Petech for bringing to such a splendidly voluminous conclusion the small work begun by Miss Alfonsa Ferrari. The basic text, written by a nineteenth century sNying-ma-pa lama, is very short, occupying only forty pages of this book. The notes occupy ninety-three pages of smaller print and provide a great deal of interesting material, all relevant to the places and personalities mentioned in the main text. The indices have been carefully prepared and the Tibetan one with a list of many Tibetan place-names is something new and extremely valuable. The maps complete this usefulness and Mr. Richardson's photographs add considerably to the interest: his brief first-hand descriptions of places are especially pleasing, for they give a sense of actuality to a work, which was in the first place intended as a guide.

D. L. SNELLGROVE.

DICTIONNAIRE FRANÇAIS-TIBÉTAIN. By S. E. Mgr. GIRAUDEAU and Rév. PÈRE FRANÇOIS GORÉ. pp. 310 + 24. Paris, Librairie d'Amérique et d'Orient, 1956.

This dictionary is one of the fruits of the many years of devoted work carried through by members of a Catholic mission in the frontier regions of eastern Tibet. All scholars of Tibetan are well acquainted with their *Dictionnaire Thibétain-Latin-Français*, published at Hong Kong in 1890 and reprinted in 1899. This new dictionary is not in fact a simple reverse of the earlier one, for it tends to be more colloquial in its choice of examples. This is what is chiefly required of a dictionary which leads from a modern European language into Tibetan, for its main use should be directly practical rather than purely scholarly. To save costs the whole work has been reproduced photographically with all the Tibetan entries hand-written. The Tibetan itself is good and clear, but not always the spacing. For example, who would guess correctly to which term the abbreviation (hon.) referred under such an entry as "Verser" (p. 303), unless he already knew Tibetan well? The main work is followed by a brief appendix, *Religion & Histoire*, containing short notes on some 350 names and terms. These would certainly be of assistance to a learner. All in all, this dictionary is a useful and practical contribution to the learning of Tibetan.

D. L. SNELLGROVE.

MEDIAEVAL HISTORY OF NEPAL (c. 750-1480). By LUCIANO PETECH. pp. xi + 238. Serie Oriental Roma, Istituto Italiano per Il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, Roma. 1958.

Professor Petech defines the main purpose of his important work as being "to place on a more secure footing the chronological and political framework of Nepalese mediæval history". He has divided the total period into two dynastic eras, the Thākuri (750-1200) and the Malla (1200-1480). His history of these two eras is contained in Chapters III and IV respectively. Chapter I consists of a synopsis of material available, new and old: (a) *vamśāvalis*; (b) colophons; (c) inscriptions; (d) foreign documents. No coins are extant for this period. To the *vamśāvalis* which form the basis of the work of Bendall and Wright, Petech has added an incomplete manuscript he discovered in Kathmandu, which appears to correspond as far as it goes to the lost *vamśāvali* of Kirkpatrick. The mainstay of Petech's chronology, however, is formed by a number of hitherto unpublished colophons of manuscripts from two libraries in Kathmandu, the Darbar Library, and that of Field Marshal Kaiser. From these colophons he has collected much information unknown to Bendall and Lévi and has been able to check and in places correct a number of the *vamśāvali* dates. Furthermore he has utilized two new *vamśāvalis* and the texts of two inscriptions described by Tucci in his "Preliminary Report on two



Scientific Expeditions in Nepal". All four relate to the little known but historically very important kingdoms of the Khas tribes in Western Nepal.

Chapter II examines the calendrical system in operation during the mediæval period, with particular reference to the problem of intercalation. This difficult task, a necessary preliminary to any chronological study, is executed with meticulous care and critical judgment. The conclusion that the dates in the Newari Samvat were calculated according to the Bhāradvāja system, true reckoning, is well supported, and though the system, as Petech admits, is not entirely accurate in all its applications it does make possible the verification of almost all the dates tested.

The three *vamśāvalīs*, which stand in the names respectively of Bendall, Kirkpatrick, and Wright, and are the main source of knowledge about the Thākuri and Malla dynasties, reveal considerable divergencies in their lists of kings and the duration of their reigns. Lévi complained that the information in them was at times more of an embarrassment to scholars than a help. He regarded some parts of the *vamśāvalī* records as confused beyond any hope of satisfactory elucidation. Petech prefers to accept the lists as given at their "face value", that being, he explains, a less arbitrary procedure than to dismiss them out of hand as a "jumble of ill-concocted and confused traditions". There can be no doubt that Petech is right. He has proved his point by a controlled and systematic application of the hypothesis of *dvairājya*, "the joint rule of two kings, equal in ranks or with a mere precedence of seniority, each ruling one-half of the kingdom, which, however, continues to be considered as a whole." Division of royal authority was known to Bendall (joint-regency) and Lévi (double royaume), but both failed to realize the possibilities it possessed for the solution of the apparent contradictions in the different *vamśāvalī* lists. The credit for having been the first to do so lies with Petech. He carries the hypothesis a stage further by postulating a secondary *dvairājya*, according to which "one of the half-kingdoms could in its turn be ruled by two joint kings". As a result of these procedures the discrepancies in the lists with regard to kings and their regnal years have been largely reconciled, and an acceptable chronology has been set up. Particularly worthy of note is Petech's analysis of the difficult period from Rāghadeve (880) to Udayadeva (1004), for which except for a single colophon dated 998 he had no source material which was not available at the time of Lévi.

The Malla period also has been supplied with a reliable chronology; but, more than that, its history has been enriched by much new political and sociological data. Special comment must be made on the links which Petech has shown to have existed between the kingdoms of the Newar Mallas and those of the Khas Mallas in the west. In this particular

the discoveries of Tucci have been of notable value. One may note too the following additions to our knowledge of the history of Nepal at this time: the connection between Someśvaradeva (1178–1182) and the Cālukyas of the Deccan, to which can be ascribed the beginnings of the influence of South Indian Brahmans in Nepal; the penetration of Nepalese art into Tibet and China during the reign of Anantamalla (1274–1310), for which see also Appendix IV; the description of the anarchic decades preceding the accession of Jayasthitimalla, during which the Valley was invaded and devastated by Shams ud-dīn Ilyās; the rejection of the traditional genealogy of Jayasthitimalla (1382–1395), and of the myth of the conquest of Bhatgaon by Harisimha of Tirhut; and the explanation of the role played in the history of the Valley by the noble Rāma family of Banepa, on the basis of which Petech is able to reconcile certain discrepancies between the *vamśāvalīs* and Chinese historical records. This part of the book, which is richly and carefully documented, is marked by a wise and scholarly analysis of factual material, and constitutes a very substantial addition to Nepalese historiography.

The final chapter treats of Nepalese Social and Administrative Conditions under four heads: (a) The cities of Nepal; (b) Officials and feudatories; (c) Coinage; (d) Caste system. Much of it is of interest, but the section which reproduces with certain minor amendments the traditional methods of describing the caste system is less than adequate in the light of recent anthropological research. There are six appendices and some genealogical tables. The last two appendices contain extracts from the Kaiser *vamśāvalī* and from that of Bendall.

Petech's wise and discriminating book is of great value and contains much that is original. It has carried our knowledge of the history of mediæval Nepal far beyond the point at which it was left by Lévi. The footnotes and the carefully compiled index show too a scrupulous regard for the important minutiae of scholarship.

T. W. CLARK.

### Near and Middle East

‘ATA-MALIK JUVAINI. THE HISTORY OF THE WORLD-CONQUEROR.

Translated by J. A. BOYLE. Two volumes, pp. xiv + 763, 2 plates and 3 maps. Manchester University Press, 1958. 63s.

TÜRKİYE SELÇUKLARI HAKKINDA RESMÎ VESİKALAR. By OSMAN TURAN. Pp. xviii + 202 + 107 (Persian Text), 6 plates. Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınlarından—VII Seri—No. 32, Ankara, 1958. 50 Liras.

The almost simultaneous appearance of these two source books for the mediæval history of Western Asia affords a useful opportunity to consider the present state of that branch of history. Down to about the

end of the nineteenth century western scholars who worked in this field, from pioneers like Pétis de la Croix and Deguignes to the giants of the nineteenth century like von Hammer-Purgstall, Howorth and Barthold had no real alternative but to use the native historians as the foundation for their work. These they used, originally quite uncritically, later more critically, but perhaps never critically enough. Indeed even to-day there are still a few exponents of the old school who are all too ingenuously prepared to accept a native historian as a witness of truth, at any rate regarding events with which he was contemporary. Of recent years the error of this course has been increasingly realized. Juvaini is a case in point. He is an authority of the highest importance for the period of which he writes and we now have a first-rate annotated translation of his work by an excellent scholar; there is a serious danger that its inherent merits may lead scholars to overlook the fact that Juvaini was sometimes, to put the matter quite bluntly, a liar. He was a primary liar in the sense that he was writing for a patron, and, as Dr. Boyle points out, had to twist the facts at least to a sufficient extent to ensure that he did not lose his job and his head, an objective in which he ultimately failed, since he did in fact, for other reasons, lose his job and would have lost his head, if he had not conveniently died first. Moreover, when his personal interests were affected, as for example in the chapter in Vol. II in which he devotes himself with manifest gusto to blackening the memory of a late colleague, one Sharaf ad-Din, he does not give the impression of being a witness of truth. Connoisseurs of filthy language will find in this Chapter some exceptionally dirty cracks to delight them, but it is hardly credible that anyone with such an astonishing flair for miscellaneous depravity could have reached and retained till death such a high position in the Civil Service as Sharaf ad-Din, even under the Ilkhanids. Juvaini was also a secondary liar, in the sense that, since he was himself a man of high position, the informants whose statements he reproduces no doubt twisted their facts to suit his supposed ideas and did not dare to risk not answering questions put to them, even if they did not know the true answers. Finally for periods earlier than his own he sometimes reproduced the work of earlier primary and secondary liars. Let it be said straight off that this is not to attribute to mediæval historians inherent vices which have ceased to exist in the twentieth century. Anyone who sees history being made from the inside, the senior Civil Servant for example, must constantly watch it being distorted in the popular press in much the same manner and for much the same reasons.

However, short of some catastrophe the historian of the future will ultimately be able to correct these distortions by reference to the official records which are being laid up for his use, indeed in all too generous a volume. The great advance which has been made in mediæval historiography in recent years is that modern scholars are now trying to

locate, publish and analyse precisely this kind of material for the periods in which they are interested. Prof. Turan's book is an admirable example of this kind of work. The kernel of it is an edition of a text of a kind familiar in Government Departments to-day. The main part of it is a collection of what would now be called "stock drafts" for appointments of various kinds, with this difference that whereas the modern stock draft is full of gaps to be filled in as required this is a collection of actual letters of appointment, often abbreviated, of persons some of whom are already known to history. The remainder is a small collection of copies of inter-governmental correspondence. These two classes of document can be misleading, but in a different way from Juvaini. A letter of appointment is after all an authentic document, but doubt must arise regarding the extent to which the copious and rather smug instructions, for example to treat all men alike and be kind to the poor, were, indeed even intended to be carried out. Similarly a letter to a brother monarch about a recent victory is unlikely to have erred on the side of modesty. Prof. Turan's copious commentary brings out fully the historical value of these documents.

It would not be right to close this review on a note of pessimism, or to exaggerate, the degree to which histories like Juvaini's are misleading. The lies are there, but they are only a small proportion of the whole, the chaff in a great mass of sound grain. It behoves the historians who use such works to be constantly on the alert and practise all the techniques of the skilled detective, the weighing of evidence, the putting of one source against another and all the elaborate apparatus of check and cross-check. Nor is this an uninteresting occupation. One thumping lie nailed firmly to the counter gives an author more intellectual satisfaction than the compilation of many pages of authentic, but perhaps rather dreary, fact; and as he must, to carry out his task, do the latter, it is only right that he should from time to time be privileged to do the former. Nor indeed is this a pastime which need be reserved for the professionals. Juvaini is good reading, even when he is not engaged in discrediting his colleagues, and even an amateur can try his hand at judging where truth ends and falsehood begins. Dr. Turan's book too is a fine example of expert historiography and full of surprises. Who, for example, would have expected to find in a library in Marburg, in a Persian precedent book written for a Turkish ruler on an island in a lake in the Konya district in A.D. 1320, a copy of a rescript issued by the famous Ilkhanid ruler of Persia, Ghazan Khan, who died in A.D. 1304?

GERARD CLAUSON.

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DER DĪWĀN DES ABŪ NUWĀS. Ed. by E. WAGNER (*Bibliotheca Islamica* 20a). Vol. I. pp. xiii + 363 + x. Franz Steiner, Wiesbaden. 1958.

The late Professor Schaade began the preparation of this work which has been continued by the present editor. For the poems, this volume

corresponds to pp. 4-54 of the Egyptian edition of 1898 which has been ignored. It contains some extra poems, omits a few verses and contains more commentary than the older print. The commentary varies much in bulk and value. The poems existed in three recensions and the editor has taken them all into account as far as they are still extant. The result is an edition of the *diwān* as it was read, not an attempt to decide what the poet said. The list of *errata* is long, the printing is rather smudged and sometimes close attention is needed to separate the work of Abū Nuwās from verses quoted in the commentary.

A. S. TRITTON.

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HANDLIST OF THE ARABIC MANUSCRIPTS IN THE CHESTER BEATTY LIBRARY. Vol. III. By A. J. ARBERRY. pp. 128, pls. 31. Dublin: Hodges, Figgis and Co. 1958. 84s.

This, the third volume of the catalogue is on the same plan as the earlier volumes. Of books believed to be unique we may mention a legal work by Zamakhshari, mathematical tracts by Sijazi, regulations for churches and synagogues in Egypt by Ibn Qutlubugha and some accounts of events in the modern history of Arabia. The plates are first class and several contain reports by readers.

A. S. TRITTON.

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CATALOGUE OF ARABIC MSS. IN THE UNIVERSITY OF LEEDS. By J. MACDONALD. pp. 62.

A first instalment of fifty items of the catalogue of Arabic MSS. It is reproduced from typescript and gives most of the information needed by students.

A. S. TRITTON.

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MAŠBUTA: STUDIES IN THE RITUAL OF THE MANDĒAN BAPTISM. By ERIC SEGELBERG, D.D. 198 pp. Uppsala, 1958.

The origins of Christian baptism lie far back in an obscure past: we get a glimpse of its background in the story of Naaman who was told by Elisha to immerse himself seven times in the Jordan to cure himself of leprosy. The Jordan, which lies in a warm valley below sea-level, is all the year round suited for immersion, unlike other rivers of Palestine and Syria, which are fed by melting snows and flow at higher levels to their outlets. It is about the Jordan, therefore, that Jewish baptismal rites centred about the time of Christ. When the baptismal sect of the Naṣōraeans migrated from the West to the riversides of Southern Babylonia and Persia,—at some time before the Moslem era



if their own tradition be accepted—they would have found there, of course, Babylonian Jews who practised ritual immersion in running water. To these they could not have allied themselves, for the hatred for Judaism is a marked feature of the whole Mandæan literature. They may, however, have found in Babylonia a baptizing gnostic sect to which they could unite themselves. In attributing this Western, possibly Elkasaite, origin to the sect, I am certainly with Joseph Thomas,<sup>1</sup> of whose book Segelberg says (p. 16) that it :—

“is a source of information to any student of questions relating to baptism in the early Church and the centuries before the rise of Christianity.”

Dr. Segelberg's careful and scholarly book contains his thesis for a doctorate of divinity, and it attains the high standards we expect from the theological faculty of Uppsala University. No source which could throw light on variations in baptismal praxis are neglected : they are studied, analysed and criticized.

He divides his thesis into three parts and it is in the analytical section that I feel inclined to differ with him on some points, notably that of investiture, that is to say putting on the white baptismal dress. This he thinks must have originally taken place after baptism. He neglects to mention that in the investiture of a new priest, it is a *new rasta* that is put on, and at the sacramental immersion and unction of the dying it is again a new *rasta* which is brought for the rite. I have myself never witnessed the latter rite, and have heard contradictory reports of its performance. At one time the white dress was always worn, day and night, by laymen as well as priests. It is a matter on which, lacking more exact information, it is difficult to be positive, as is the question of whether the baptismal sacraments of bread and water were originally linked to the moment of emergence from the water. Dr. Segelberg makes much of these points and of the place of unction at baptism : did it precede immersion as in certain Christian rites ?

The plunging of the right hand and arm into the river (or “jordan”) before candidates partake of the communion is easily explained, for it is an act which must precede every meal and is paralleled by the Moslem pouring of water over hands before eating. The Mandæan ablution must, like that of ritually observant Jews, be in running water.

I hope that I have said enough to indicate that Dr. Segelberg's comprehensive and erudite book should find a place in every theological library as well as on the shelves of those interested in the Mandæan problem and in the value of study of Mandæan beliefs and rites to the science of comparative religion.

E. S. DROWER.

<sup>1</sup> Le mouvement baptiste en Palestine et Syrie (150 av. J.-C. -300 ap. J.-C.), 1935.

TENSIONS IN THE MIDDLE EAST. PHILIP W. THAYER (ed.). pp. xiv + 350. Johns Hopkins Press, Baltimore. O.U.P., London, 1958. Price in U.K., 35s.

This book records the proceedings of a conference sponsored in August, 1957, by the School of Advanced International Studies of the Johns Hopkins University. Its three sections, "Basic Considerations," "Economic and Social Factors" and "Problem Studies", contain thirteen papers, each followed by a commentary. The contributors are American, Arab and British experts. An introduction by Charles Malik describes the general situation, and the conclusions of the conference are summarized by Ernest K. Lindley of *Newsweek*. As in all publications of this kind, there is inevitably some overlap among the contributions, and some unreconciled differences in the viewpoints put forward. Studies of Middle Eastern affairs rapidly become outdated and some passages in this book, compiled in the aftermath of the Suez incident, already have a period flavour. The most valuable papers are those which range widely over the Middle Eastern field and set current developments against their historical background. Such are "The Middle East in World Affairs" by Bernard Lewis, "Structural Changes in Middle East Society" by Paul Stirling, "Recent Developments in Islam" by P. J. Vatikiotis, and "The Prospects of Communism in the Middle East" by Walter Z. Laqueur. J. C. Hurewitz's commentary on "The United States and the Middle East" by Robert Strausz-Hupé shows considerable insight, while Laqueur's article is admirably supplemented by R. N. Carew Hunt's commentary on the role of Soviet policy.

P. M. HOLT.

ISAAC ISRAELI. By A. ALTMANN and S. M. STERN. (Scripta Judaica I.) pp. xxiii + 226. pl. 1. Clarendon Press, O.U.P. 1958. 30s.

Isaac adopted the form of Neo-Platonism current among his Muslim contemporaries but with variations. The First Agent (God) created by power and will the first matter and the first form which is wisdom. These created the first intellect from which all else emanated. The world soul consisted of three elements, rational, animal and vegetable. The process of emanation was compared to light; the further from the source the dimmer the light, so that all was less perfect as it was removed from the first intellect. At times the comparison seems to change into identity. Every stage in the process had its light and shadow (Isaac sometimes speaks of ray and shade) and each stage is produced both from the light and the shadow of the stage above it. It is not surprising that Maimonides dismissed Isaac as "only a physician". The editors do not notice that the shadow idea was taken over by religion, especially by its less orthodox forms. The shade of Muhammad was the first thing created. "We were shadows on the right of the throne . . . these shadows

and the forms stripped of the shadows are real and shine by the light of the Lord." The volume contains translations of Isaac's philosophical writings and a sketch of his system.

A. S. TRITTON.

BRITISH INTERESTS IN THE MEDITERRANEAN AND MIDDLE EAST. pp. viii+123. Published for the Royal Institute of International Affairs by Oxford University Press, London, 1958. 12s. 6d.

This judicious report was produced by a study-group under Sir Knox Helm. In outlining the historical and economic background the report stresses the contraction of British influence in the region, culminating in the catastrophe of Suez. Britain's interests are, first, "to obtain oil under fair commercial conditions . . . and then to bring it to Europe by the cheapest and safest route"; secondly, to keep open communications to the further East; thirdly, to welcome regional developments making for social and political stability; and, fourthly, to keep the Middle East land bridge out of hostile hands. The region is troubled with internal instability arising from Arab nationalism, social tensions, the conflicting interests of the Arab states, and their relations with Israel. It is threatened by Soviet expansion through aggression or economic penetration. British action is limited by the decline in her armed strength, her meagre material resources, the restraint exercised by public opinion, and her obligations to the Commonwealth and her allies. Her great asset is "the trust and confidence won, over decades, by the personal work of many British advisers, consultants and traders." The report advocates consultation and publicity in preference to unilateral action and secrecy. It emphasizes the necessity of co-operating with the Arab social and economic revolution, and of influencing regional public opinion. In the Middle East, "Britain has suffered a defeat of major dimensions." This book should assist in the search for the means of recovery.

P. M. HOLT.

ABRAHAM DANS LE CORAN. L'histoire d'Abraham dans le Coran et la naissance de l'Islam. Étude critique des textes Coraniques suivie d'un essai sur la représentation qu'ils donnent de la Religion et de l'Histoire. By Y. MOUBARAC. With an Introduction by Louis Massignon. pp. 205. Librairie Philosophique J. Vrin, Paris, 1957.

The author of this book has tried to do two things. He has tried to discuss critically the theory first put forward by Snouck Hurgronje and generally accepted by Western orientalists, to the effect that the figure of Abraham was used by Muhammad during his Medinan period as a means of asserting his independence of the Jews. Secondly, he has tried to give an exposition of the religious validity of the figure of Abraham in the Qurān. In his first aim he cannot have been said to be very successful. He is out of sympathy with the critical approach

of European Orientalists and often fails to see obvious objections to the theories he is propounding. The best that can be said of this side of the work is that from time to time he makes points worthy of consideration by the critical Orientalist.

On the other hand, there is much profound insight in his treatment of Abraham as an embodiment of the essential religious experience of mankind. The Qurānic picture of Abraham, considered as a single whole (cf. pp. 91-95), presents "the stages in a spiritual way" which reflected Muhammad's own experience and became a model for the experience of later Muslims. A work of this kind really makes it possible for Christians and Muslims to enter into a genuine conversation with one another, and for this it may be warmly commended.

W. MONTGOMERY WATT.

HISTORY OF EGYPT, 1382-1469 A.D. Part IV, 1422-1438 A.D. Tr. from the Arabic Annals of Abu l-Maḥāsin ibn Taghrī Birdī. By WILLIAM POPPER. Pp. xiv + 217. University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles. 1958. Price \$4.50.

Ibn Taghrī Birdī has been far more fortunate than most Arabic historians in finding an editor and translator of the patience, industry and scholarship of Professor Popper. This latest instalment of his monumental labours is more than usually welcome and will interest many who are not orientalists. It is concerned with the reign of Barsbāi and includes accounts of the Egyptian invasion of Cyprus, of the siege of Diyarbakr, and of Barsbāi's successful defiance of *Shāh Rukh*, as well as some interesting criticisms of Maqrīzī, who is blamed for being too severe in his judgment of the Sultan. Ibn Taghrī Birdī's hostility to the Qara Qoyunlu is made very obvious. A few very small points may be mentioned. The name Jainūs is wrongly identified as James on p. v, though correctly as Janus in the text. His genealogy as given on p. 193 calls for comment. He was the son of Jacques I, son of Hugues IV, son of the Constable Gui of Ibelin, son of Hugues III, but he is here called Jainūs b. Jāk b. Baidū b. Anṭūn b. Jainūs. Since other Cypriot place-names are spelt conventionally it would have been worth explaining that Mallāḥa (p. 27 and elsewhere) is Larnaca, being the Arabic equivalent for Les Salines and the Turkish Tuzla. The statement on p. vi that Barsbāi "left very little in his treasury" is contradicted by the text on p. 156 where it is said that he "left an exceedingly large amount of money". Al-Ḥaṭī, which is the Ethiopic *ḥaṣṣ*, seems to be regarded as a proper name on p. 203, though not elsewhere.

Everyone interested in the history of the Mediterranean world in the fifteenth century will congratulate Professor Popper on his achievement and look forward eagerly to the completion of one of the major enterprises of contemporary Arabic scholarship.

C. F. BECKINGHAM.

GRAMMAIRE DU PERSAN CONTEMPORAIN. By GILBERT LAZARD. pp. x + 297. Klincksieck, Paris, 1957.

The student of Persian has hitherto been well enough served with grammars if his interest has been literary or historical, less so if it has been practical. Tradition has always rested heavily on the classical, according the barest recognition to the modern language. M. Lazard gives us a trustworthy scientific description of both Modern Literary and Colloquial Persian. Few will lament that this is a descriptive grammar, and not a graded primer.

The section on phonetics contains the most novelties. The concept of "stable" and "unstable" vowels, replacing the etymological one of "long" and "short", indeed the whole separation of "Phonétique" and "Écriture", with precedence given to the former, is an important step forward. The transcription employed is somewhat unconventional but, in the light of the excellent phonetic description, serves its purpose adequately. Only š, ž, might have been easier on the eye than the rather indistinct comma employed in s, z. And one wonders, is writing ê, ô for the diphthongs eʷ, oʷ the best solution of the problem raised by the distinct occurrence of both e-i and eʷ?

The remaining sections, on Morphology, Syntax, and Word Formation, are most detailed and the description well supported by examples. There are a few misprints in the examples, but the context is usually sufficient to reveal them as such. The full treatment of the syntax of simple and complex sentences is particularly admirable. The author's hope is surely fulfilled, that "cette grammaire sera utile à ceux qui enseignent ou étudient le persan, ainsi qu'aux linguistes".

D. N. MacKENZIE.

CLASSICAL PERSIAN LITERATURE. By A. J. ARBERRY. 464 pp., incl. bibliography and index. George Allen and Unwin, 1958. 35s.

This is the first major work on Persian literature since the late Professor E. G. Browne completed his classic *A Literary History of Persia* (4 vols.) in 1924. Professor Arberry covers the five centuries of classical Persian literature, from Firdawsī to Jāmī, within the compass of a single volume, and so his book is well suited to the needs of students. The bibliography is excellent, and its arrangement by chapters is convenient. Perhaps the most valuable feature of the book is the abundance of quotations from works of modern Persian literary criticism. For students should be familiar not only with the assessments of western scholars, but also with the judgements of Persian scholars and men of letters.

*Classical Persian Literature* is produced not only for specialists and students, but for "the enjoyment of the wider public interested to discover the sum of what the poets and writers of Persia produced



during the golden age". For this reason, Professor Arberry includes copious translations from the classics of Persian literature. Many of the passages are Professor Arberry's own, and in addition all the best known translators of the past are represented. The student of comparative translation will find rich material here, and the general reader is given the opportunity of appreciating the greatest works of Persian literature as far as this is possible through the medium of translation.

Professor Arberry envisages a second volume, to cover the five centuries from Jāmi to the present day; it is very much to be hoped that he will be able to carry out his plan, as his knowledge of modern Persian literature is probably unrivalled among contemporary western scholars.

R. M. SAVORY.

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THE INTRODUCTORY CHAPTERS OF YAQŪT'S MU'JAM AL-BULDĀN. Td. by W. JWAIDEH. (George C. Keiser Foundation, Washington, D.C.) Leiden. pp. 79 + xvi, 1959.

These chapters do not present much difficulty to the translator who has used parallel texts as controls, made several emendations, and occasionally slips into a colloquialism. The theories of the ancients on the shape and size of the earth are reported and the doctrine of the seven climes is taken over; in this there is little new. The sections on the land in the Muslim politico-legal system are concise and clear. The notes are many, explanatory, and adapted to those who have no Arabic and no Muslim history. A job of work well done.

A. S. TRITTON.

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THE ORIGINS OF RUSSIA. By G. VERNADSKY. pp. xi + 354, 3 plates. Clarendon Press: Oxford University Press, 1959. 35s.

Slavonic pre-history and the early history of the various Slavonic peoples are part of the history of Europe, so the only justification for reviewing this book here is that it strays far outside its title into many parts of Asia, some of them remote from Russia. Many books have been written on this subject in the last hundred years, but only very few in English, and this makes it all the more regrettable that this one cannot be described otherwise than as wholly unreliable. It cannot be said that the author is not widely read; the bibliography is a long and imposing one and the copious exact references in footnotes are ample evidence that the author has made full use of it. The real trouble is that Prof. Vernadsky seems to be completely lacking in a critical sense, in the etymological, historical, and geographic fields alike. In all these fields he has a proclivity for preferring the improbable to the probable and even the certain, and displays a flair for the preposterous which is truly amazing. For example, in the etymological field he quotes with equal approval theories that the modern Ossetic word *don* "a river"

is the origin of the names of the English river Don and Doncaster, and that the first half of "danegeld" has nothing to do with the Danes but is the Russian word *dan* "tribute". Nor are his own essays in etymology any less irresponsible. At one point he connects the name "*Rus*" with *Rusa*, the completely "non-Aryan" name of three kings who ruled the kingdom of Urartu between 735 and 590 B.C. (see G. A. Melikishvili, *Nairi-Urartu*, Tbilisi, 1954, pp. 278, 321), but fundamentally he believes it to be the Iranian word *rukhs* "light, brilliance" and that its first appearance as a tribal name is as the first half of the tribal name *Roxalani*, which can be traced back (in the form *Reuxalanoi*) to a Greek inscription of the second century B.C. (see Henning, op. cit., below, p. 316). A useful corrective to this and other fantasies will be found in Appendix iv of F. Dvornik's book *The Making of Central and Eastern Europe*, London, 1949, which is a confutation of an earlier statement of Prof. Vernadsky to this effect. Again he derives the eighth century Turkish word *tamğa*, "horse brand" and the like, from the modern Ossetic phrase *da myg* "thy sperm" (!) and *Tmutarakan*, the name of a town on the Taman peninsula, from a supposed Turkish phrase *tîmen tarkan* "the high official of a ten thousand", which does not in fact exist in Turkish. Turning to the historical field, Prof. Henning has shown ("A Spurious Folktale", *B.S.O.A.S.*, xxi, pp. 315 ff.) that the supposed "Ossetian historical tale of *Iry Dada*", which is extensively quoted in this book, is a modern fabrication, and Dvornik in the Appendix quoted above has given sound reasons for believing that the supposed "Russ Kaganate of Tmutorokan", which plays such an impressive part in Prof. Vernadsky's account of early Russian history never existed at all. The fact is that the Professor seems to have no geographical or chronological sense and so assumes the presence of Turks, Slavs, Varangians, and other peoples in places to which, on the evidence of sober history and archæology, they had either never penetrated so early or never penetrated at all. One unfortunate consequence is that even for periods and areas where the author really is an expert his exposition must be suspect because there is no means of telling where fact ends and fantasy begins, or vice versa. One minor mystery relates to the three plates. These are indifferent photographs, largely overlapping, of the beginning of a MS. of which almost nothing is said in the text. The MS. is said to be written in "Roukhs letters", but these are quite unlike Cyrillic and Glagolitic, and indeed do not look like any known alphabet. A very unconvincing "transcription" is printed below the photographs, but it is not possible to link it with the letters of the text, which are not written in regular lines either horizontally or vertically. Incidentally one is described as "not a word but the symbol of invocation". The authenticity of the MS. seems to be open to grave doubt. There are no maps, which is, to put it no higher, disconcerting in a book so full of geographical names.

GERARD CLAUSON.

**TURKISH ISLAMIC ARCHITECTURE IN SELJUK AND OTTOMAN TIMES.**

By B. ÜNSAL. pp. vi + 118, 130 plates and figures in text. Alec Tiranti. London, 1959. 30s.

This is the first book to deal comprehensively with this subject, and an excellent production not unworthy to take its place beside Prof. Creswell's *Short Account of Early Muslim Architecture* reviewed in this Journal, 1959, p. 60. The monuments dealt with fall within the period A.D. 1071-1923, and are all within the frontiers of the Turkish Republic; references to buildings of the earliest Seljuk period before the occupation of Anatolia are purely incidental. Prof. Ünsal is thoroughly familiar with the monuments described, and, what is equally important, an excellent expositor. The plans, drawings, and photographs are of high quality, and the book will be equally useful to the student who merely wishes to know something of the subject and the fortunate traveller who is able to see some of the actual monuments; others are so remote that it is unlikely many foreigners will be able to visit them; and this makes the photographs and descriptions of them all the more important. If any criticism is to be made of the work, it would relate to the historical introduction. This is inevitably brief and compressed, and contains some minor inaccuracies. For example, whatever definition of "Turkish nation" may be adopted, it could hardly be agreed that "the adoption of Islam by the Turkish nation as a whole dates to the years 920-960"; it would have been more prudent to say "by important Turkish states like the kingdom of the Karakhanids".

GERARD CLAUSON.

**AN ANTHOLOGY OF MODERN PERSIAN POETRY.** By MUNIBUR RAHMAN.

Vol. i, xv + 321 pp. Muslim University, Aligarh, Institute of Islamic Studies Publications, Series V, 1958. 15s.

Dr. Munibur Rahman has already (1955) published a detailed study of contemporary developments in Persian poetry. The main division among modern Persian poets is, as he states, between those who continue to use the traditional poetic forms and metres, and those who have broken away from the classical forms and have introduced new forms and new metres in order better to express the new poetical themes of the twentieth century. This first of a two-volume anthology contains only the work of poets who write in the classical style. Thirty-nine poets are represented, and Dr. Munibur Rahman has written brief biographical notes on each. They range from essentially pre-Revolution poets like Amīrī (Adīb al-Mamālīk), who died in 1917, to contemporary poets such as Gulchīn Gīlānī, Kawlī, Bāmdād, Sāya, and Ummīd. The poems, as one would expect, are grouped under the principal classical verse-forms—*qasīda*, *ghazal*, *mathnawī*, etc. The compiler has made his selection with discrimination from an almost unlimited wealth of material, and the eminent Persian scholar Professor Said Naficy, in

his foreword to this volume, declares that it is superior to any similar publication which has so far appeared in Persia. This is high praise and will be a great encouragement to Dr. Munibur Rahman in the more difficult task of preparing the second volume, which is to contain the work of poets who have broken with the classical tradition.

R. M. SAVORY.

EGYPT. Country Survey Series—Human Relations Area Files. Ed. by G. L. HARRIS. 370 pp. New Haven, 1957.

This volume seeks to give as full a picture as brevity allows of modern Egypt, viewed from a large number of aspects. The information was collected by a team of seven, including one Arab, working under the chairmanship of the editor. The twenty-four chapters range in length from four to thirty pages, but most have ten to twelve pages. Each chapter is divided into sections: chapter 9, for example, on "Diffusion and Control of Information" (pp. 101-115) contains fourteen sections. There are three "plates", nineteen tables, a bibliography, an index, and a good glossary, though it contains a few inaccuracies: e.g. "rhymed prose" for *maqāma*; "religious leader, interpreter of the Koran" for *mufti*; "free will offering" for *sdaqā*.

The book "is an attempt to analyse the dominant sociological, political, and economic aspects of a changing society . . . and to identify the patterns of behaviour characteristic of its members. It does not include all the data examined . . . much of the information sought is not available". It was an ambitious project to collect so much material, analyse it, and present the result neatly in just over 350 pages. Wherever possible the writers have gone far back in history and tried to discover some continuity. In an analytical exposition, however, as opposed to mere presentation of facts, there is more room for disagreement, and more temptation to theorize. It is difficult to follow clearly the brief exposition in chapter 12 ("on the Financial System") of the connection between the *zakāt*, the financial abuses of the various periods, and the present-day financial system. And is it correct to include the Mamlukes in a list of genuine examples of forced labour ranging from ancient to very recent times? In some four pages given to the various aspects of contemporary literature, one may wonder if a broader outline would not have been preferable to the listing of a very small number of literary figures with one or two examples of their works.

It is difficult to decide to what extent this very readable book can serve as a work of reference. Perhaps this is not its primary purpose. It is, however, a work of scholarship, written with insight.

W. 'ARAFAT.

AMIRAN-DAREJANIANI: A Cycle of Medieval Georgian Tales traditionally ascribed to Mose Khoneli. Td. by R. H. STEVENSON. xxxiii + 240 pp. Clarendon Press, 1958. 42s.

These tales narrate the prowess of *dchabukis*, or warrior-heroes. The core of the cycle may go back to the early twelfth century, the age of David II (1089-1125). The *dchabukis* were supermen, and some (like Amiran himself) were super-supermen. Their adventures are monotonously fantastic. All is hyperbole of the tiresome Persian variety, and indeed Dr. Stevenson assumes that the more legendary portions of the *Shānāma* were known to Khoneli, "perhaps in the Georgian of the lost *Rostomiani*." Dr. Stevenson is fully aware of the cycle's lack of beauty, ethos, texture, and intriguing incident, and draws comparisons with medieval Western European romances that can only be unfavourable to the Georgian tales. The best he can say after inviting a dangerous comparison with the *Chanson de Roland* is that the audiences for each were similarly appreciative of mighty sword and lance blows and similarly unappreciative of the doings of women. There might have been more to add, were the text of the *Amiran* of comparable antiquity; but surely if there had been great moments in earlier versions, some, at least, would have survived. Actually there is no scene even remotely resembling in its power that of the blowing of Roland's horn. But Dr. Stevenson's rough equation of the *Amiran* with the *Roland* as belonging to a more primitive stage and of Rustaveli's "The Man of the Panther-skin" and the romances of Chrétien de Troyes as examples of a more sophisticated stage of literary development deserves attention, and his introduction is informative and stimulating. But readers will be disappointed if they expect the exploits of a Georgian *dchabuki* to have any of the charm of the old Irish "Cattle-raid of Cooley" or the poetic naiveté of the Russian *byliny*.

A. T. HATTO.

### South-East Asia

INDIGENOUS POLITICAL SYSTEMS OF WESTERN MALAYA. By J. M. GULLICK. Pp. 151. University of London, The Athlone Press, 1950. 25s.

This is an illuminating picture of Malaya before the era of British protection. The interrelations of the *ra'yat*, headmen, chiefs and Sultans are painstakingly analysed. The organization of the village and the institutions of *kěrah* and debt-slavery are carefully studied. The immense respect paid to the Sultans contrasts strangely with the very small power they wielded.



The book is well documented and the authorities cited are unimpeachable ; but some of the conclusions drawn are difficult to follow.

"Islam was not to any significant extent a 'state religion'. There was no priesthood other than the vicars of village mosques, who did not form a caste apart. . . . There were no Kathis until the era of British protection."

But there is—strictly speaking—no priesthood in orthodox Islam. The imams do not even to-day form a caste apart. There were no Kathis (as separate officials) in Trengganu in the 1920's, because the judge and magistrates (Malays) were expected to know the Islamic law and apply it where appropriate. Perhaps it was only when British judges and magistrates began to be appointed that it became necessary to have special officials to administer Islamic law on marriage, divorce and inheritance.

Again :—

"Islamic legal doctrine appears in the Malay codes but there is no evidence to show that this doctrine was effective law."

But certainly it was effective for marriage, divorce and inheritance and in some states and at certain periods for criminal law also, as Begbie for example attests.

M. C. HAY.

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AN UNABRIDGED ENGLISH-MALAY DICTIONARY. By Sir R. O. WINSTEDT.  
pp. 398. Marican and Sons, Singapore, 1958.

The need for an English-Malay dictionary can hardly have been foreseen by Marsden and even in the time of Wilkinson was not pressing. In fact Sir Richard Winstedt was the first scholar to essay the work in his *Dictionary of Colloquial Malay*. For the vocabularies of Swettenham and Shellabear were too inaccurate to rank as the products of scholarship and too incomplete to satisfy even elementary students.

This new book is based, as the author says in his preface, on his well-known large Malay-English dictionary compiled in 1913-15. But it is in no sense an abridgement. Special terms in natural history which have no equivalents in English have been omitted ; for these can now be found in works for the specialist by Burkill, Corner, and others. These omissions have made room for the many additional English words and their Malay equivalents.

To the exact definition of difficult words Sir Richard has given his usual meticulous attention. *Kěchuali*, for instance, is found under "except, independent, neutral" ; *tinggalkan* under "abandon, desert, deviate, leave (behind), neglect". The ample compass of the work is illustrated by the fact that no less than thirty-seven words and expressions with the meaning "carry" are listed, including such distinctions as *tatang* "to carry on the upturned palm of the hand", and *tating*, a Perak word (also found in parts of Kedah) meaning "to carry thus

with the arm stretched out to full length". Thirty-three numeral coefficient forms are listed, each with its defined usage. Local variant forms are carefully noted: *béria* in Pahang and *paling* in *bahasa Indonesia* for *têrlalu* "very"; *jambar* and the rarer *sêmurup* both from Perak, *bumbun* from Johore, *pondong* from Malacca for *pondok* "hut"; *gajus* from Johore (also Kelantan) by metathesis for *janggus* "cashew-nut".

But the dictionary is no mere repository of literary, dialect, and obsolescent words. Perhaps its greatest value lies in its accurate record of modern trends in Malay. Words like *usaha*, *ishtihaar*, 'aral, *bakar*, have gained new currency with special, usually secular meanings. The new political constitution of Malaya has already given *négara* the new sense of 'general' in such phrases as *pégawai n.* "attorney-general" and *juru wang n.* "auditor general". New expressions are being invented all the time, like *něgěri mastautin* "country of domicile", *pusat pěkěerja* "employment agency", and *pēměta* "draftsman".

Indonesian newspapers continue to exert a powerful influence on Malay editors. So Sir Richard does not hesitate to introduce Indonesian words where peninsular Malay lacks an equivalent, though a lexicographer has to be certain that a neologism has received general acceptance before he can admit it. With the rapid growth of Malay neologisms every edition of this useful and most commendable work is likely to have an appendix containing new words. As it stands it is concise but exhaustive, a monument of systematic recording.

A. H. HILL.

## India, Pakistan and Ceylon

THE SUBHĀSITARATNAKOṢA, compiled by VIDYĀKARA. Ed. by D. D. KOSAMBI and V. V. GOKHALE, with an introduction by D. D. KOSAMBI. Pp. cxix + 341. Harvard, 1957. [Harvard Oriental Series: vol. 42.]

A portion of the present anthology was published from a fragmentary manuscript in the possession of the Asiatic Society of Bengal in the Bibliotheca Indica in 1912 by F. W. Thomas under the title (wrongly conjectured, as can now be seen) of *Kavīndravacanasaṃuccaya*. Among the photographs of Sanskrit manuscripts brought back from Tibet by Rāhula Sāṅkṛityāyana there was included a complete version of this text, and its identification (in 1946) led to the present edition being undertaken, on the basis of these photographs and of another complete manuscript which was located in the possession of Pt. Hemarāja, the Nepal Rājaguru. The editors were faced with considerable difficulties since the photographs available were so badly done as to be barely

legible, and the Nepalese manuscript though perfectly legible preserved only a very corrupted form of the text. To offset these difficulties there was the fact that many of the verses are preserved in other similar collections, and in particular two anthologies originating like the present one in North-Eastern India, the one published (*Saduktikarṇāmṛta*) and the other in manuscript (*Prasannasāhityaratnākara*) turned out to be useful. With these aids and as a result of very considerable labour the two editors have succeeded in providing a most reliable text, and one which can be regarded as a model to be followed in editing classical Sanskrit works.

The choice of readings by the editors depends on the meaning given by them to verses whose style is complicated and not infrequently obscure. Consequently it is very satisfactory to learn that a second volume, containing English translation and notes will shortly appear. At the same time on the basis of the text alone it is clear that the editors have done their work superlatively well and that little scope remains for further improvement. One point on which there is room for difference of opinion is the principle of retaining the orthography of the MSS. (and it is presumed of the author) when this is demonstrably incorrect. For instance they show confusion of the three sibilants (based on the vernacular pronunciation), but this seems hardly to justify the printing of such forms as *parimṛṣan* (898) for *parimṛśan*. Likewise the word *baṣkayinī* (139), which the author takes from Pāṇini, should be printed in the form in which it appears in the grammar rather than as the MS. happens to give it (*vaskayinī*). Otherwise few corrections suggest themselves, though presumably "*viṣṭapa*" should be read for "*piṣṭapa*" in 995 and "*bhūṣaṇah*" would give better metre than "*bhūṣaḥ*" in 1131.

As the Preface remarks "the poems cover the whole time-span of classical Sanskrit literature", but the authors of the earlier period are only sparsely represented. The vast majority of the poems date from the centuries immediately preceding the compilation of the anthology (c. 1100 A.D.). The more elaborate and involved style of the later classical poets suited the taste of the times best. To judge by the frequency with which he is cited, Rājasekhara was the most highly thought of, and a verse ascribed to Abhinananda (1714) appears to refer to a visit the latter made to Kananj to see the great poet, after doing which he returned satisfied. Other favourites are Murāri and Bhavabhūti.

As well as being fairly clearly delimited in time, the anthology has also a fairly definite geographical orientation, since, leaving aside the great names, it is largely the poets of the Pāla empire who are represented. Many poets famous in their time, such as Vallana, Keśata and Yogeśvara whose works are otherwise lost, have escaped complete oblivion by being liberally represented in this (and similar) anthologies. A fuller

and more representative idea can be gained of the literary activity of the time than would otherwise be possible.

Because we can be so definite about the place and time of the bulk of the collection, there is a good basis for studying this poetry in relation to its social and political setting. A good deal of the introduction is taken up with this theme, and from it many valuable remarks can be gathered. It is on occasion pushed too far, and few students will be persuaded, for instance, that the "degenerate taste" of the poem of Sandhyākaranandin (it is a *dvyāśraya kāvya*) is related to the diminution which had recently occurred in the size of the Pāla empire (p. xxxviii). It may also be noted incidentally that the use of the term *pāmara-* to denote a person of low caste (a particular low caste, according to the *Vaijayanī*) does not imply that such people had scabby bodies (p. xlv).

The Introduction is followed by an alphabetical list of the poets, together with all the information that could be gleaned concerning them, and this forms a valuable contribution to the history of Sanskrit literature. Occasionally one could wish the remarks were somewhat fuller; for instance, the *Setubandha* referred to in Sanskrit literature (Bāṇa, etc.) has usually been taken to be the Prakrit poem of that name which still exists, and consequently the reasons for the different view given here (p. lxxxv) that it is a lost epic poem should have been stated.

The volume has been most handsomely produced for which all concerned should be congratulated. The companion volume will be eagerly awaited.

T. BURROW.

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THE PATHANS. 1550 B.C.-1957 A.D. By SIR OLAF CAROE. pp. 521. Macmillan and Co. 60s.

It is a matter for deep satisfaction that an account of the Pathan race should have been written by the last, and certainly not the least, of the Governors of the Frontier Province in a volume equally marked by literary ability and comprehensive knowledge. Many even of those who have served in other parts of India and have regarded the Pathans as a homogeneous people of uniform origin and of ancient religious fanaticism, will be surprised to learn of their comparatively late accession to Islam. To the British reader, the most interesting period may be that of the Paladins who guided the administration of the Punjab after the first Sikh War. The greatest of these lives in history as John Nicholson, but with the others the name of James Abbott should be remembered, as one who lacked the striking physical qualifications of Nicholson, being little more than five feet in height. Yet in 1927 Sir Olaf himself met a centenarian who had known Abbott and related the love which the people had borne him. Sir Olaf is a link with the Paladins, worthy to be ranked with his great predecessors.

The interest attached to the Pathans lies however as much in the future as in the past. They themselves cannot forget that they have ruled in Delhi and established kingdoms in Upper India. They are likely to be subjected to pressure to be joined in a new State of Pakhunistan, the ruling dynasty of which may be the non-Pathan and non-Pashtu speaking rulers of Kabul. As Sir Olaf points out, however, the Pathan future lies, as it has done in the past, with the people of the Indus Valley. Perhaps they will be the ruling party in Western Pakistan and sever the Islamic State of Kashmir from Indian occupation. Sir Olaf believes that the Pathans are like the Scots and, like other Highlanders, will be found to be largely in control of the fortunes of their country. He points out, however, that the Frontier cannot be wholly governed from Karachi or Lahore and that a measure of decentralization will be necessary. The picture of a future Pakistan cannot be fully assessed without the assistance of this notable book.

R. C. CADELL.

HINDU LAW PAST AND PRESENT. By J. D. M. DERRETT. Pp. xx + 408. A. Mukherjee and Co., Calcutta, 1957. Rs. 12.

Any reader with some knowledge of the subject will profit from a study of this book. Generally the account of the law before the recent Hindu Code legislation is clear and concise, covering local variations not dealt with in the standard text-books. The history of the Hindu Code is presented in an illuminating manner.

Had the writing been deferred until all the recent legislation was available, the account of that would doubtless have been equally valuable, but part of the book had been printed while only the Bills were available. Although a preface has been added to correct comment in the body of the book, and the statutes have been printed in appendices, a reader new to the subject might find it difficult to form a clear picture of the present situation.

The other feature which compels qualification of the applause due to the author is his attitude to his subject. At p. 29 he says that the old Hindu law generally suited Hindus, but at pp. 7 and 8 he describes it as "a hotch-potch of rules, often inconsistent with one another, ill-assorted, mutually incompatible, intellectually lacking in uniformity . . . encumbered with rules which do not govern, principles which do not guide, maxims which are ambiguous, sources which may be followed or not . . . and rules of interpretation . . . as flexible as the sources . . .". Similar outbursts occur at pp. 4, 23, 24, 25, and 30. The Hindu Code, at p. 270, is "a lifeless creature unable to progress because it is equipped with every means of propulsion operating simultaneously in different directions and without steering gear". At p. 274 the Judges are said to be unlikely to interpret the Code as Parliament expected.

ALAN GLEDHILL.



AN ECONOMIC GEOGRAPHY OF EAST PAKISTAN. By NAFIS AHMED.  
Pp. 341, with 56 maps and 59 tables. Oxford University Press,  
London, 1958. 50s. net.

The special economic features and problems of East Pakistan—depending, as they do, in many respects upon the geography of the area—are apt to be overlooked. Indeed, to many Western people the picture evoked by mention of “Pakistan” is that of West Pakistan, with its varied and often majestic and romantic physical features—loosely combined, with a small and somewhat vague area, isolated and unattached, except by tenuous political ties, further East. Yet, despite its relatively small area, East Pakistan contains no less than 55.2% of the total population of Pakistan, and presents a number of fascinating features and problems in many respects far more closely allied to those of neighbouring Indian Provinces than to those of the rest of Pakistan.

So Mr. Nafis Ahmed's careful, illuminating and readable book deserves a warm welcome and provides an admirable basis for further economic, as well as geographic, study of this originally fertile but at the present time both over- and under-cultivated region. It is most attractively produced, and well-chosen maps and tables give an admirable picture of the physical features, resources and products of East Pakistan past and present.

The Introduction describes, vividly and concisely, the emergence of the region's new international boundaries, its present territorial limits and its administrative divisions. Part I deals with the physical setting—including the geology, the remarkable river system, the climate and soils. Part II surveys the evolution during the past of the main types of production, trade and transport. Part III analyses present-day productive and commercial activities and trends in the agricultural and allied spheres, in industry (large and small-scale), in communications and transport, and in trade. A most interesting Chapter discusses demographic features, and in conclusion the importance of “Geographical Aspects of Present and Future Development” is made clear.

The subject-matter of the book corresponds closely with what is usually considered to be “commercial” geography, and eschews—for the greater part—strictly “economic” features and problems. For instance, apart from descriptions of one or two particular projects (such as the Sylket natural gas project and the Karnafuli multi-purpose Scheme), of the reconstruction of the transport system, and of port developments since Partition, there is practically no reference to economic policy of any type. The Index includes no entry for “planning”, for land reform, or for tariffs or commercial policy. Prices and price changes, the Indo-Pakistan trade agreement of 1953, the effects of not devaluing the currency in 1939, and its subsequent devaluation in 1955, are briefly mentioned, but the impression remains that the title should have been a “commercial” rather than

an "economic" geography. This, however, is a criticism of the title rather than of the substance of the book. With one exception, it would have been a mistake to attempt to introduce specifically economic and policy considerations, for which another volume (at least) would be necessary, if they were treated on a similar scale. The one exception is the omission of any account of post-partition methods of communication and transport—or their absence—between East Pakistan and neighbouring Indian Provinces. Some reference, too, should have been made to the present unsatisfactory land and tenure structure, though full discussion might have been out-of-place.

VERA ANSTEY.

EARLY HISTORY AND CULTURE OF KASHMIR. By S. C. RAY. Pp. xxv + 241, 8 plates, map. Calcutta: U. N. Dhur and Sons Private Ltd., 1957. Rs. 20, or 35s.

A very disappointing book: inadequate, vague, repetitious and full of padding despite the wealth of source material which could have been used to compile a solid political and cultural history of Kashmir. Chapter I is wholly superfluous: "The valley is dotted with numerous lakes that shine like gems under a sunlit sky; rivers run with merry ripple..."; "The ethnological analysis of the Kāśmīrian people can never be complete unless and until we take an account of their physical traits both external and internal, or even to some extent their physiological characteristics"; etc. Much of the discussion on sources given in the Introduction is repeated. Thus we are told twice that the *Nīlamatapūrāṇa* deals with "the principal Nāgas or sacred springs" (p. xx = p. 8) and that Kṣemendra's "heroine Kaṅkāli (travels) through the length and breadth of Kashmir" (p. xxi = p. 8).

The misdating of Pravarasena II upsets the chronology of various chapters, including that on archaeology. The chapter on "Society" contains much nonsense and is contradicted by other chapters: "...no such caste as Kṣatriya, Vaiśya and Śūdra in early Kāśmīra" (p. 86) but "Haladhara, a Vaiśya, rose to the position of prime-minister" (p. 61)—statements that are not qualified. It is doubtful whether *kāmaśāstra* was taught to all women as comprehensively as is implied (p. 97).

The orthography is careless, e.g.: "Rājapurī/Rājāpurī/Rājapuri". Read Tsung for Tsang on p. 47 (the emperor).

The chapter on religion alone is of some merit.

A. K. WARDER.

RELIGIOUS THOUGHT OF SAYYID AHMAD KHAN. By BASHIR AHMAD DAR. Pp. viii + 304. Institute of Islamic Culture, Lahore, 1957.

This is a very useful book, particularly for those who cannot read Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan's religious writings in the original. The political

consequences of the great reformer's life and thought have, despite the work of Professor W. Cantwell Smith and J. M. S. Baljon, been allowed to overshadow the precise character of his religious teaching, although it is the latter which has formed the basis for the intellectual renaissance of the Indo-Muslim community in modern times. Mr. Dar takes that teaching out of the shadows and shows clearly, under such headings as "Nature and Reason", "Nature and God", "Nature and Man", "The Qur'ān and the Traditions" what Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan's rejection of *taqlid* and exercise of a personal *ijtihad* meant in terms of specific doctrines.

Mr. Dar's valuable monograph does, however, suggest the need for further research into two related topics—the story of Sir Sayyid's early intellectual development as charted through the books he read and the ideas he encountered and the story of how, in detail, his ideas percolated the Indo-Muslim community and how they met considerable resistance. The fact that Sir Sayyid's teaching struck many sympathetic chords—and some unsympathetic ones—suggests that the community was perhaps not as moribund or as sunk in apathetic resignation to an unkind fate as is usually, on the statements of the party of change itself, supposed. Mr. Dar has not himself set out to give an historical explanation of the workings of genius in the realm of ideas, but he makes it very evident that someone should.

P. HARDY.

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THE EXCAVATIONS AT MAHESHWAR AND NAVDATOLI, 1952-53. By H. D. SANKALIA, B. SUBBARAO, and S. B. DEO. pp. xxvi, 257, 18 plates, 118 figures, 4 maps. Deccan College Research Institute and M.S. University Publication No. 1, Poona, 1958. Rs. 35.

After B. B. Lal's excavation of the epic site at Hastinapur in the upper Ganges Valley, the excavations at Maheshwar and Navdatoli on the banks of the Narmada represent another attempt by archaeologists to discover the truth behind the Paurānic myth and tales. Hastinapur provided the material foundation of the stories narrated in the Mahābhārata: archaeologically it has revealed two well-stratified cultures—the N.B.P. ware associated with punch-marked coins, and the earlier painted grey ware. The present attempt was to discover the ancient Mahishmati—a city which played an important part in the Aryan penetration from the north to south India. Three distinct cultures were found there, besides the stone tools of ill-defined earlier periods, and a complex of materials loosely assigned to the Muslim-Marhatta period. The three cultures which are divided without any convincing reason into four periods by the authors, relate to the materials associated with (i) painted pottery, (ii) black-and-red ware, and (iii) red polished ware. In the painted pottery the authors have rightly

recognized the chalcolithic culture of this region and its date round 1000 B.C. appears to be reasonable. Unfortunately the black-and-red ware culture has not been properly dealt with. Instead we find greater stress laid on two intrusive elements, the N.B.P. ware and the punch-marked coins, both of which arrived at a later stage of this culture. These no doubt link the culture sequence of this area with that of the Middle Ganges Valley, but at what time ? No definite answer is provided in the excavated materials, though the authors on p. 19 point to 400 B.C. and on p. 133 speak of c. fourth-third century B.C. The difficulty lies firstly in two facts, that the coins found are of different types and of different periods, though this point has been hardly taken into consideration, and secondly in the long life of the N.B.P. ware whose occurrence in different parts of India need not coincide with 600 or 400 B.C. Another attempt to define the date is made on the basis of a few inscribed potsherds, the palaeography of which is said to be Aśokan. Such a vague reference to Aśokan character can now be hardly conceded when it is realized that in this region there is nothing to compare between the Girnar version of the Aśokan Rock Edicts and the Nanaghat records of the early Śātavāhanas. The letter forms on the sherds are nearer to those of Nanaghat than to the other. The difficulty can be easily avoided by recognizing a definite period of black-and-red ware culture at the end of the painted pottery right down to the beginning of the red polished ware—this long epoch being divided into two sub-periods, the later coinciding with the arrival of the northern intruding elements in the forms of N.B.P. and the coins. It is in this second phase of the black-and-red ware that this region is related with the Middle Ganges Valley, and in this relation we can well imagine the part played by the Paurāṇic heroes, or more particularly the advance of the Gangetic imperial power into the south. That this picture can be given to-day is largely due to the authors of the present book on excavations for which they deserve our congratulation.

AHMAD HASAN DANI.

JIVANDHARA-CAMPŪ. By MAHĀKAVI HARICANDRA. Edited with Sanskrit and Hindī translation by Pandit PANNĀLĀL JAIN. pp. 50 + 344. Varanasi, 1958. (Jñānapīṭha Mūrtidevī Jaina Granthamālā : Sanskrit Grantha No. 18.) Rs. 8.

The Jains have never wearied of tales about religious and other heroes with frequent digressions in the narrative to illustrate the working of Karman or to provide instruction in the principles of Jainism. This Digambara version of the Jivandhara legend, newly edited by Pt. Pannālāl Jain, is no exception to the general pattern of these didactic works.

The edition is based upon that first published by T. S. Kuppuswami

Sastri in 1905, but the editor has been able to make use of one more MS. Variant readings are not noted. The work is in eleven lambas, each with a significant title, and is written in Sanskrit in the campū style, in a mixture of prose and verse. An index of the śloka occurring is provided, together with a Sanskrit commentary and a Hindī translation. In the introduction, written in Hindī, the editor has considered Haricandra's relationship with other authors and has quoted a number of passages from Haricandra's *Dharmaśarmābhyaśaya*, Vādibhasiṃha's *Kṣattra-Cūḍāmaṇi*, and other works, showing verbal and other similarities.

In the General Editorial, in English, Drs. A. N. Upadhye and Hiralal Jain discuss the Jivandhara legend and its place in Indian literature, tracing the development from its first appearance in Guṇabhadra's *Uttarapurāṇa*, and suggesting that many of the features of the *Jivandhara-Campū* may be derived from the lost *Brhatkathā* of Guṇādhyā. In a brief foreword Professor K. K. Handiqui discusses the probable date and identity of the author Haricandra, styled Mahākavi, and concludes that he was the same Haricandra who wrote the *Dharmaśarmābhyaśaya*, and that he lived after Vādibhasiṃha, between A.D. 1075 and 1175.

K. R. NORMAN.

CLASSICAL SINHALESE SCULPTURE, c. 300 B.C. TO A.D. 1000. By D. T. DAVENDRA. Tiranti, London, 1958.

The scarcity of books on Sinhalese sculpture is reason to welcome any new publication with even a bare minimum of fresh material; and of the 128 plates in this monograph at least a dozen are new or unfamiliar, and the standard of photography is adequate.

To read the introduction, however, is to be reminded of the comparative backwardness of Sinhalese archæological research, which allows a margin of seven or eight centuries for "experts" to disagree on the most elementary problems of style and architectural convention. Mr. Davendra makes no pretence to scholarship, but he writes with warmth and enthusiasm quoting the opinions of others and occasionally adding an inspired guess of his own. The manner is so unpretentious that one cannot be irritated, however absurd some of the conclusions.

Messrs. Tiranti's excellent record of art publishing make it surprising that the plates should be muddled, without chronological order or proper descriptions even of measurements or of material. And why does the textual description stop short at the tenth century A.D., when the plates include material of an obviously later date? In spite of such defects the book will be useful as a work of reference, at least until something better is available.

JOHN IRWIN.



INDIA AS KNOWN TO PĀṆINI (A Study of the Cultural Material of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*). By V. S. AGRAWALA. pp. xx + 549, 3 maps, plate. Lucknow University, 1953. Rs. 50.

This thorough and systematic analysis of the contents of Pāṇini's grammar, interpreted from the point of view of social history, should have been reviewed earlier. Its author, who has been engaged on the study of Pāṇini intermittently for over twenty years, brings to bear on his theme the results of a very wide study of ancient India, both from literary sources and from archæological and artistic remains, and supplements these with a first-hand knowledge of modern traditional techniques of crafts and agriculture and of the colloquial languages and dialects of northern India. After a discussion of Pāṇini's life and work, lengthy chapters are devoted to geographical data, social life, economic conditions, education, learning and literature, religion, and polity and administration. The work concludes with an examination of the date of Pāṇini and appendices on the *janapadas* and the place-names in the *Gaṇapāṭha*. So it provides a comprehensive and important work of reference, throwing light on all aspects of life at the time of the great grammarian.

By relating the words and phrases of the terse sūtras to the data of other early Indian literature Professor Agrawala has extracted much information of varied importance. Some is rather jejune: one need not turn to Pāṇini to establish the existence of potters and carpenters in pre-Mauryan India. But the work contains much of real value, especially on religion and social conditions. From the data of Pāṇini the author has been able to throw important light on the metrology of punch-marked coins, and evidence is adduced even on such out-of-the-way topics as the wages of labourers and the system of branding cattle.

The sections on polity and administration are open to criticism for the tendency to impose twentieth century categories upon the ancient past, in the manner of the late Dr. K. P. Jayaswal. The chapter bristles with such terms as "civil list", "A.D.C.", "party system," etc., and here and there the sense of the text seems forced in order to make ancient Indian politics appear up-to-date. Thus (pp. 400-1) Pāṇini's sūtra: *Miśraṃ cānupasargam asaṃdhau* (vi, 2, 154) is said to enshrine a "fact of great constitutional significance" and to point to "joint authority between the king and his ministers who shared it in common according to constitutional usage". This fanciful interpretation is based not on the sūtra itself but on the example of its application given in the much later *Kāśikā—Brāhmaṇa-miśro rājā*, which is further explained by the phrase: *Brāhmaṇaiḥ saha saṃhita aikāthyam āpannaḥ*. The only implication of this seems to be that kingdoms flourish where kings and brahmans act in unison, and the phrase has no constitutional significance at all, but is merely a conventional platitude. Similarly it is doubtful if the word *aśadaksīṇa*, referring to secret deliberations between two

people only, had any special political significance (pp. 402-3). In most contexts *janapada* seems to be quite satisfactorily translated as "region", and rarely if ever to connote "state", as Professor Agrawala would have it (p. 91). Nobody denies that there were republican or oligarchic governments in ancient India, but many Indian scholars, perhaps from an otherwise laudable faith in democracy, are inclined to over-emphasize them.

Space forbids a detailed analysis of Professor Agrawala's arguments for dating Pāṇini in the middle of the fifth century B.C., none of which are wholly convincing. A recondite astronomical argument attempts to show that as Śraviṣṭhā was the first *nakṣatra* in Pāṇini's day he must have lived before 400 B.C. (pp. 459-62). Putting aside all questions of the accuracy of the astronomical calculations the argument is based on a list of ten *nakṣatras* given by Pāṇini (iv, 3, 34), of which Śraviṣṭhā is first mentioned. Since the other nine are not in astronomical order there is no special reason to believe that Pāṇini thought of Śraviṣṭhā as the first, and thus the argument is almost worthless. The author explains the tradition connecting Pāṇini with a king Nanda by recourse to Jayaswal's fantastic interpretation of Khāravēla's Hāthigumphā Inscription, in dating which he completely ignores the palaeographical evidence, which clearly shows that the inscription is considerably later than the Besnagar Inscription of Heliodorus of about 100 B.C. The Nanda king referred to at Hāthigumphā must thus have lived just before Candragupta Maurya, and hence the most widely favoured date for Pāṇini, the latter half of the fourth century, is confirmed. Pāṇini's reference to *Yavanāni* (iv, 1, 49), generally taken on the basis of Kātyāyana to mean Greek script, suggests that he had come in contact with the Greek settlements left by Alexander, among which the continued use of Greek is attested by the recently discovered inscription of Aśoka at Kandahar. Pāṇini makes no reference to any other foreign script such as Aramaic or Achæmenian cuneiform, as might be expected if he had lived in the great days of the Achæmenian Empire. Similarly his reference to the *Parsus* or Persians as a mere military community (v, 3, 117) shows that in his day the Achæmenian Empire had vanished, or was at least hardly known in north-western India. More than ten years may have elapsed between the invasion of Alexander and Candragupta's final overthrow of the rule of the Nandas, and we suggest that it was in this period that Pāṇini wrote the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*.

A few minor points are open to criticism. *Kambujiya* in the Old Persian inscriptions does not refer to the Kamboja people (pp. 48-9), but to Cambyses, the second Achæmenid emperor. References to ploughing fields twice or three times do not necessarily imply deep ploughing (p. 200), but rather the reverse. As Indian gold coins of pre-Kuṣāṇa times are not attested either in hoards or as isolated finds it seems probable that the terms *niṣka* and *suvarṇa* in earlier literature refer not to coined

pieces (p. 261) but merely to weights of gold. The early appearance of a god called Vāsudeva (pp. 359–60) does not prove that he was identified with Viṣṇu or Kṛṣṇa at the time. In discussing the *vrātyas* (pp. 440–1) no reference is made to the work of J. W. Hauer, who gives strong reasons to believe that these people were originally members of a non-Vedic Aryan religious fraternity.

The work is well produced and has excellent indexes, but contains no bibliography.

A. L. BASHAM.

MANU DHARMA ŚĀSTRA. By KEWAL MOTWANI. xxviii + 384 pp. Ganesh and Co., Madras, 1958. Rs. 20.

Much of this book is based on the popular notion that things similar in one or more aspects are probably similar in all, an attitude that will never take into account the exception that proves the rule.

The book is divided into two parts—"Manu's social theory" and "Manu: a forgotten page of human history". Manu, we are told, comes from the root *man*, to think, and is the archetypal man. We must believe also that "Manu stands for the title of office and is not the name of a particular individual". "India," Dr. Motwani writes, "has been proved to be the first country that gave birth to physics, chemistry, astronomy, mathematics, biology, botany, medicine, surgery, logic, psychology, ethics, esthetics, metaphysics, sociology, and zoology." But the proof for all this is no more cogent than proof can be for the idea that the sun rises through the fruits of the brahman's sacrifice?

Some scholars will be amused and others incensed by the procrustean methods of Dr. Motwani. "The Brahman is a thinker, professor, priest, preacher, and philosopher-statesman, quiet in his ways. The Kṣattriya is energetic, the ruler, warrior, public servant." These groups, he finds rather conveniently fit in with the "psychological basis of human classification". That the four āśramas, or as the author calls them "social institutions" are those of "education, family-economics, state, and religion" can hardly be said to conform very strictly to the Sanskrit of those words.

The chapter on political institutions is especially unscholarly. That the government was composed of three clearly defined and separated departments, the executive, the judiciary, and the legislative is simply nonsense. And one must protest against modern terminology being applied inaccurately to describe ancient Indian concepts, as for example translating a *vānaprastha* as "a pension-holder living in the suburbs". Scholarship demands accuracy; not simplification. "The executive," we are told, "should be composed of three parts: the head of the state, who may be a king or a president; the cabinet; and the civil service." But when, in ancient India, was there ever a head of government called president? Is it necessary to include these sops to modern institutions?

Nowhere is it explicitly stated in ancient Hindu texts that the king derived his authority to rule from the people—certainly not in pre-Buddhist India. That the will of the people was important as a political reality no one would deny. But the king was divine, as Manu himself states, and divine beings do not draw their authority from humans. Again, legislature hardly seems a correct rendition for three or even ten brahmans who speak on doubtful points of law.

The second part of the book on "A forgotten page of human history" should be discarded. Madame Blavatsky, described by the author as "unquestionably the greatest Indologist that the world has ever known", may have supported some of his conclusions that there are evidences of Manu's influence in Iran, Sumeria, Egypt, Crete, Babylon, Assyria, Hatti, Palestine, Greece, Rome, Burma, Siam, Malaya, Philippine Islands, and so on, but this does not prove a very dubious thesis. Dr. Motwani has cited Sir Richard Winstedt in support of his argument, but Sir Richard went no further than finding a close parallel between Malay port regulations and those of the Moguls with the comment that such regulations go back in India as far as Candra Gupta which is certainly no ground for claiming that any legal system of the Malays "should be taken to be the Manu Dharma Śāstra".

JOHN W. SPELLMAN.

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BENDAPUDI SUBBARAO : *The Personality of India. Pre- and Proto-Historic Foundation of India and Pakistan*. M.S. University. Archæological Series No. 3. pp. xvi + 193, 11 plates, 43 maps and charts. 2nd edition. Baroda : Maharaja Sayajirao University, 1958. Rs. 35.

While the review of the first edition of this book (1956) was awaiting publication, a second edition, considerably enlarged and improved, appeared. The rapid sale of the first is evidence of the growing interest in archæology, both in India and elsewhere. The author attempts to do for India and Pakistan what Sir Cyril Fox, in his *Personality of Britain* did for this country. The title is rather misleading, and the prospective reader might well imagine that he had a survey of contemporary India before him, instead of a review of prehistory and archæology in the light of historical geography. But the book has many merits. Dr. Subbarao reviews the most recent work in Indian archæology with restraint and authority. He is cautious in his conclusions, and offers no dogmatic solutions to outstanding problems such as the origin of the Dravidians or the cause of the fall of the Indus cities. The second edition contains a very valuable appendix on the data of the Purāṇic king-lists in the light of archæology which should be compulsory reading for all those who support the fantastic chronologies of Pargiter and others.

Dr. Subbarao's style is very terse and allusive, and the ordinary educated reader will often find himself out of his depth. But for the serious student with some background knowledge this book provides a valuable general review of Indian archæology. There is an irritating plethora of quotations from other authorities. Most of these are sentences and phrases with no claim to profundity or memorable aptness of expression, and their contents could equally well have been paraphrased in the author's own words. The origin of each quotation is dutifully recorded in the text, thus breaking the flow of the reader's thought.

The book is quite well produced, and the many misprints of the first edition have disappeared in the second.

A. L. BASHAM.

## Buddhism

MINOR BUDDHIST TEXTS, Part II, First *Bhāvanākrama* of Kamalaśīla, Sanskrit and Tibetan Texts with Introduction and English Summary by GIUSEPPE TUCCI. pp. 289. Rome, Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1958.

The Sanskrit text of this *Bhāvanākrama* ("Meditational Process") of Kamalaśīla has been edited from photographs of an early manuscript preserved in Tibet, where it was seen by Professor Tucci in 1939. He has published it together with the Tibetan translation from the Tenjur and a summarized English version. Since this short work (28 folios) is directly concerned with one of the major events of early Tibetan history, the Buddhist Council at Lhasa (or bSam-yas), Professor Tucci's long introduction deals with all the general concomitant circumstances. The identity of the first seven Tibetans to be ordained as monks (*sad mi*) is discussed exhaustively as also the important question of the date of the foundation of bSam-yas (pp. 29-31 and p. 285), and the location of Bal-po which, as Tucci convincingly argues, can scarcely be Nepal in the present context (so that a correction is necessary on p. 140 of my *Buddhist Himālaya*). The sources for our knowledge of what Buddhist texts were available in the time of Khri-sroṅ-lde-btsan are considered (p. 46 ff.), and then the very interesting question of the relationship between Chinese Buddhist tradition (Ch'an) and the Tibetan school *rDzogs-chen* ("Great Perfection"). In this regard the author analyses briefly a few works from the *rNin-ma rGyud-ḥbum* (an early collection of tantras, later judged as uncanonical), and quotes the relevant section from the *bKaḥ-thaṅ-sde-lña* (vol. c) on the views of the Ch'an masters and Kamalaśīla (pp. 68-102). He draws attention to a certain fundamental identity of views of both Ch'an and *rDzogs-chen vis-à-vis* the *mahāsiddhas*, in so far as they all regard enlightenment as a condition which must be realized spontaneously.



In illustration of this a long quotation is given from the reviewer's translation of Saraha's verses. Professor Tucci then examines what traces there are of the literary activities of those taking part in the Council (pp. 121 ff.), and although there is in fact little to show, the matter is well worth pursuing. He certainly succeeds in showing by this brilliant study that the circumstances and issues of this Buddhist Council were far more complex than later tradition suggested. The position of Vairocana, a pupil of Padmasambhava, is especially significant (pp. 110-1, 114-21). Professor Tucci handles his sources with his usual dexterity, and where he suspects his own conclusions to have been rather premature, he has himself corrected them in the *Addenda*. There is no index, though the work is large enough to merit one.

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D. L. SNELLGROVE.

**BUDDHIST SCRIPTURES.** By EDWARD CONZE. pp. 250. Penguin Classics, 1959. 3s. 6d.

This small volume of selected Buddhist texts will give the interested reader the best possible brief survey of Buddhist beliefs and doctrines. Easily read, it is yet a scholarly work, in that the translations are accurate (as we would expect from Dr. Conze) and chosen for their objective interest. The first part illustrates the nature of the Buddha in legend and history, the second part the teachings of his followers on morality, meditation, and pure knowledge together with a few doctrinal formulas and examples of doctrinal disputes. The last part deals with heavens and hells and the intermediate state, and finally the prophecy concerning the future Buddha, Maitreya. By means of this last part Dr. Conze might seem to have cast his selections in a quasi-Christian setting, and many readers may not realize that he is here illustrating a rather different type of Buddhism from that of the second part. The short introduction to each part, especially the first, is admirable. The prose is good and the verse often very pleasingly translated. Dr. Conze appears therefore over-modest in his self-appraisal.

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D. L. SNELLGROVE.

## Islam

**ISLAM IN WEST AFRICA.** By J. SPENCER TRIMMINGHAM. pp. i-ix, 262. Clarendon Press, Oxford University Press. 30s.

Nowhere else in English is available so successful a background canvas for this complex area, but to achieve it in one volume has necessitated severe selection. The specialist will still need his primary sources, but this book is invaluable as a framework, and for anyone who requires a generalized approach.

The comments on secularism should be noted (pp. 9, 22-4, 224, and elsewhere), also the correct conclusion that Islam operated against the extension of Western influences (p. 203). The author's condemnation of "indirect rule" (p. 205) excludes any statement of the case to be advanced for this policy. Administration no less than politics is the art of the possible, and was there any practicable alternative there then? Had it not been for the two world wars, would not the strain on the policy have been less and, in any case, has not Northern Nigeria escaped the internal convulsions experienced elsewhere? For perspective, Lugard's "Dual Mandate" should be read in connection with this section.

The popularity of the Tijānī tariqah (p. 92) is attributed to its greater strictness: this may be so, but locally it is more usually thought to have become "fashionable" *via* trading circles, and its strength lies in the big commercial towns. "ya tuba" = he has repented, i.e. of the errors of paganism, is a commoner usage (p. 39, ll. 3-4).

Is it not unusual (p. 164) to extend the connotation of "polygamy" to include concubinage as well as legal marriage?

Spelling errors are few, but there are mistakes in the set-out of the table on p. 72.

C. E. J. WHITTING.

### Miscellaneous

AT SUNDRY TIMES. By R. C. ZAEHNER. pp. 230. Faber and Faber, London, 1958. 21s.

This book is based on a course of five lectures, designed to "investigate whether there is any system into which the fundamental tenets of all the great religions can be made to fit". This large undertaking is naturally not new; but Professor Zaehner embarks on it with the freshness and vigour of independent thought, and the clarity and pungency of his style and the range of his knowledge make his exposition a pleasure to follow. He writes as a Roman Catholic; and the conclusion of his investigation—that Christianity embodies the supreme revelation led up to by other religions—is implicit in its beginning. The work is not, therefore, strictly scholarly in method: facts are not followed to an unknown conclusion, but sought to support a given one. Professor Zaehner is too fair-minded, however,—and too great a lover of paradox—not to state clearly the difficulties involved. He devotes consideration primarily to Judaism and the Indian religions, since, directly or indirectly, the Jews and Indians have given their religions to the bulk of mankind. He stresses the deep cleavage between the two: "India with its quest for the eternity that is in every man . . . Israel, a very late-comer to the idea of immortality with its personal and over-powering God who makes His will known through prophecy. If both traditions

represent an aspect of the truth, then the link between them is at present veiled from our eyes" (p. 26). He also considers Zoroastrianism and Islam, two other prophetic religions, and points out the stumbling-block which the latter constitutes to his thesis. For he accepts Muhammad as a prophet of God; but "if Jesus Christ was the Son of God . . . than what possible additional message could God have which He had not transmitted through His Son?" (p. 27). In his fifth chapter, the author sets out to meet his own arguments. Zoroastrianism, with its strong historical influence on Judæism, is readily fitted into a system culminating in Christ. For India he stresses the teachings of love and possible union with God to be found in the *Gītā*, and the exaltation of selfless love by the Mahayānā Buddhists. It is hard, however, to argue that these are *fundamental* tenets of Hinduism or Buddhism. As for Islam, he maintains (in an appendix) that Muhammad accepted the basic Christian doctrines, and that his revelation was not opposed to Christianity. But even if this is accepted, it does not answer the question why Muhammad was sent to a world which had already received the supreme revelation.

Rich and lucid though Professor Zaehner's exposition is, it is difficult to feel that he has established his conclusion, on the basis of the evidence presented.

MARY BOYCE.

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SINO-INDIAN STUDIES. Volume v, Nos. 3 and 4. pp. xi + 294. Liebenthal Festschrift, 1957.

This *Festschrift* was planned to appear in 1956 in honour of the seventieth birthday of Dr. Walter Liebenthal but it was most unfortunately delayed by the sudden death of the editor of *Sino-Indian Studies*, Dr. Bagchi. It was published a year late through the efforts of the new Vice-Chancellor of Visvabharati, Dr. S. N. Bose, and, in a sense, forms a memorial to Dr. Bagchi as well. The scholars who have contributed to the volume include N. Aiyaswamisastri, H. W. Bailey, P. V. Bapat, André Bareau, Edward Conze, D. M. Datta, Gustav Ecke, Helmuth von Glasenapp, L. C. Goodrich, Paul Horsch, Leon Hurvitz, Shinya Kasugai, H. Kitagawa, T. Kuraishi, G. M. Nagao, H. Nakamura, Johannes Rahder, G. N. Roerich, Vidhuśekhara Sastri, Prabodh-chandra Sen, Walter Simon, G. Tucci, Arthur Waley, Alex Wayman, Hellmut Wilhelm, and Arthur F. Wright.

Most of the articles are, appropriately, devoted to Buddhist studies and lie outside the range of competence of the present reviewer. I may, however, mention one or two articles as having seemed specially interesting. Leon Hurvitz's article, "'Render unto Cæsar' in Early Chinese Buddhism: Hui-Yüan's Treatise on the Exemption of the Buddhist Clergy from the Requirements of Civil Etiquette" is about the clash between the claim of Buddhist monks to have renounced the

world and hence to be free from the duty to show respect to parents and earthly monarchs, and the contrary claims of the traditional Chinese order. H. Nakamura writes on "The influence of Confucian ethics on Chinese translations of Buddhist sutras", and shows that the adaptation to Chinese ideas of Buddhist teaching on such questions as the proper sphere of ethical behaviour (which in China was limited to human beings and did not include other living things), and the fundamental social relationships, went on from the first translations. Hellmut Wilhelm's article, "A note on Sun Ch'o and his *Yü-tao-lun*" is on a similar theme, for it shows the succession and combination of Taoist, Buddhist, and Confucian philosophies in the mind of one man living in the fourth century A.D. and correlates this with the social position of the gentry at that time.

Other articles deal with questions of Indian Buddhism, linguistics, textual criticism, folk-lore, the history of technology, etc. An interesting and valuable collection.

E. G. PULLEYBLANK.

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#### HONG KONG BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

When Sir John Bowring became Governor of Hong Kong in 1854 a branch of this Society was founded there, but in spite of the efforts of Dr. Legge, it became moribund by 1859 and was wound up. Especially in view of the passing of the North China Branch, it is pleasing to report that the Hong Kong Branch is now being resuscitated and expects shortly to issue a journal. The parent Society wishes it every success.

#### 25TH INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF ORIENTALISTS, MOSCOW, 10TH-17TH AUGUST, 1960

Will any member desiring to attend the above Congress apply to the Secretary for an application form?

## ANNIVERSARY MEETING

The Anniversary Meeting was held on the 14th May with the Director, Sir Richard Winstedt, in the chair.

The following Report of Council, 1958-9, was laid before it :—

The Society regretted the deaths of one Honorary Fellow, Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar, of an Honorary Vice-President, Sir John Marshall, and of seven members : Sir Eric Miller ; Sir A. W. Pim, Professor A. L. Mayer, Dr. E. J. Thomas ; Messrs. L. E. Bratt, S. M. Mackay, and A. Safrastian, and Miss B. Whittingham-Jones.

Nine members resigned, viz. Drs. H. Cohen, L. Frank, and H. N. Randle ; Commander G. C. Miles ; the Revs. Barakat Ullah, H. Hart, and E. Langton ; Mr. J. F. P. Hopkins, and the Misses S. Goldsmith and E. P. Quigly.

Professors K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, C. F. A. Schaeffer, and E. Waldschmidt were elected Honorary Fellows.

Eighty-nine new Members were elected : H.H. the Maharaja Rajsheb of Dhrangadhra ; Hon. Mrs. C. O'Neill ; Colonel J. B. Cunningham ; Major R. Raven-Hart ; Professors H. Furber and M. S. Khan ; Drs. K. A. Ballhatchet, J. Elfenbein, Chaya Ghosh, L. M. Gujral, Abu Hakima, P. Hardy, Bradford Martin, V. A. Narain, B. N. Pandey, M. S. Pandey, Wendell Phillips, G. Thambian, Romila Thapar, and T. Vimalananda ; Messrs. H. Abbot, P. C. Aggarwal, D. Argov, C. J. Bontoft, Clayton Bredt, J. M. Brereton, Morris Brown, J. A. Butt, P. D. Cavendish, R. S. Y. Chee, E. A. Daniel, B. I. Evans, I. Farazmand, Fayyaz ud-Din, R. M. Fontera, A. E. Frykenberg, K. H. J. Gardiner, K. B. Gardner, F. G. Glubb, Goh Siew Kee, C. Gonsalves, L. M. Gujral, M. M. Hashmi, T. A. Heathcote, C. J. Heywood, B. Hook, Russell Jones, Mithlesh Kanti, J. R. Khandke, S. Khatarpal, C. M. Kortepeter, Hemraj Kothari, H. G. Leslie, H. Leventhal, R. P. F. Lloyd, M. A. N. Loewe, D. W. MacDowall, J. Minattur, V. A. Mirza, K. K. Nayar, Jayant Patel, R. H. Pinder-Wilson, M. Prasad, Ramesh Rao, S. M. Razavy, P. W. Rege, V. Rienaecker, E. D. W. Rogers, M. B. Saunders, J. P. Sharma, I. Siklos, B. Singh, Janardan Singh, G. C. Sinha, S. A. Smith, K. Speyer, P. S. Sorcar, C. S. Thakore, R. K. Verma, M. A. Wahid, W. K. Wagle, Syed R. Wasti, and Jan Weryho ; Mrs. M. F. Kurata and Mrs. Devahuti Singhal, and the Misses C. K. Ellis, Sarah Handler, S. Saravanamuttu, and Patricia Thomas.



The nomination of many of these new members was due to the efforts of Mr. John W. Spellman.

*Grants.*—The Society gratefully acknowledged the receipt of £300 from the Nuffield Trust, £200 from the Government of India, £100 from the British Academy, £50 from the Government of Pakistan, £46 from the Government of the Federation of Malaya, £37 6s. 8d. from that of Singapore, and £10 from that of Hong Kong.

*Lectures.*—Dr. D. L. Snellgrove lectured on “Buddhist Shrines of Nepal”, Mr. B. W. Robinson on “Persian Pictures in the Royal Asiatic Society”, Professor C. R. Boxer on “The Portuguese in the Land of Zanj 1498–1698”, Professor C. von Fürer-Haimendorf on “The Sherpas of Nepal”, Mr. Taufiq Wahby on “The Remains of Mithraism in Iraq and the Religion of the Yezedis”, and Professor A. J. Arberry on “Dun Karm, poet of Malta”.

*Gifts.*—The Society lost a generous donor of books by the death of Sir Eric Miller. It was indebted to Mr. V. Gaster for a gift of his father's works.

*Publications.*—A new edition of *The Rise of the Ottoman Empire* by Professor Paul Wittek was published; also *Two Prakrit Versions of the Manipati-Carita*, edited by R. Williams as Volume XXVI of the James G. Forlong Series.

The *Triennial Gold Medal* was awarded to Professor K. A. Creswell, C.B.E., for his works on Islamic architecture.

*Universities Prize Essay.*—The subjects set were (1) The value of Oriental studies at the present time, or (2) the Spread of Cycles of Tales in Asia. There were two entries. The prize was awarded to Mr. J. L. Young, of Leeds University.

*Officers.*—The Council recommended the election of the following:

Vice-Presidents:—Professor J. Brough and Dr. A. Waley;

Members of Council:—Sir R. Turner, Sir Mortimer Wheeler, and

Mr. M. C. Hay; Hon. Officers:—Dr. L. D. Barnett (Librarian),

Mr. C. C. Brown (Treasurer), and Mr. D. Sinor (Secretary).

The following are recommended by the Council as Auditors:—

*Professional:* Messrs. Price Waterhouse and Co.

*Honorary:* Professor A. L. Basham for the Council and Mr. C. E. J. Whitting for the Society.

The Society was again indebted to its Honorary Solicitor, Mr. D. H. Bramall, for his services.

The Hon. Treasurer (Mr. C. C. Brown) said that the accounts for 1958 were reasonably satisfactory.

Expenditure was nearly £700 more than in 1957 due to a formidable bill of £821 for repairs to the Society's back walls. On other items the difference in expenditure between 1958 and 1957 was extremely small.

On the revenue side the income from subscriptions rose by £50 above that of 1957 owing to an unusual number of new members. Grants were £50 less: there was a reduction of £100 in the Nuffield Grant for the *Journal*—a grant promised for five years, a period now drawing to its close. The grant of the British Academy stood at £100 against India's £200. The sale of one of their few remaining sets raised sales of *Journals* by £109. The total revenue exceeded that of the previous year by £110. And they still hoped that, like the British Academy, the Society of Antiquaries, the Linnaean, and some other bodies, their Society would be allowed a rebate by the income-tax authorities on covenanted subscriptions which, if approved, would bring in £360 for arrears. (*Now allowed*—Editor.)

He was glad to say that the Society had started, with the Moreland legacy, a staff pension fund that would produce an annual sum of £84. They must hope for further legacies.

The transfer of certain gilt-edged shares to equities had led to a capital appreciation of £226 at current prices.

The credit balance at the end of the year was £648, against £1,254 at its beginning, a decrease entirely due to the heavy builder's bill. But they were fortunate not to have had to realize any of their investments, and with the recovery of £360 from the income tax authorities the real fall would be only £250.

Professor Tritton, in moving the adoption of the Report, said that the Royal Asiatic Society was unlike the Near East, because it was still peaceful and poor, not having struck oil. One task the Society might undertake was to show how much British historic legend was second-hand. Sir Philip Sidney, for example, had to take a back seat to a bearer who, at the battle of the Yarmuk, carried water to a wounded man, who sent him to a second casualty, who directed him to a third. When the bearer came to the third man, he had died; so he went back to the second but found him already dead and then returned to the first, who was also dead. Again, Queen Mary said that Calais would be found written on her heart; but the Arab grammarian who said the same about a preposition was more cultured. Professor Tritton concluded with a tribute to the work of the Society's staff.

In seconding the adoption of the Report Mr. Meredith Owen said that he was honoured to represent the rank and file of the Society on such an occasion. When he joined the Society ten years ago it was beginning to recover from the manifold difficulties that beset learned organizations in the post-war period. On the debit side, it had had to contend with rising costs, especially of printing. But to offset this there had been, to its credit, a vastly increased activity and interest in Orientalia due, among other factors, to the Scarbrough Commission. And in 1958 the Society had a remarkable increase in members.

It was highly commendable that it had been able to publish at least one, of not two or more, monographs every year for the last few years, despite its limited resources. Of these publications, he had only time to mention Professor Thomas's *Tibetan Texts and Translations* and, in his own field, Professor Minorsky's *History of Persia, 1472-1490*, and *The Rise of the Ottoman Empire*, by Professor Wittek—a classic in its way which was first published in 1938 and is the most concise (and readable) essay on the early Ottoman period.

From his own angle, he would like to say something about the facilities afforded to members and students by the Library. In the past few months, thanks to the kind permission of the Council, the British Museum had been able to borrow several MSS. from the Library, all in Siamese, for microfilming on behalf of the Thailand Historical Commission. He himself had made all too little use of the Society's Library resources but the Subject Index had given him several ideas for improving the new Islamic subject index he was using for Turkish and Persian nowadays.

In conclusion, he would like to say how greatly members were indebted to Sir Richard Winstedt for his constant and untiring care of the Society's interests, to Mrs. Davis for her very efficient management of the daily administration, and to Miss Nielsen, who so capably attended to the queries of readers in the Library.

The Director said that once more he had to ask their forbearance and to listen to one who had probably talked too much and too often from that chair. For their President was absent on a visit to Turkey.

The Society had to regret the loss during 1958 of two particularly distinguished scholars, Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar and Sir John Marshall; of another, who was at once a scholar and a benefactor of the Society, Professor Mayer, and of another benefactor in Sir Eric

# THE SOCIETY'S RECEIPTS AND

## RECEIPTS

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
<b>SUBSCRIPTIONS—</b>						
Fellows				522	18	0
Non-Resident Members				296	2	0
Students and Miscellaneous				33	19	4
Compounders				87	11	2
						940 10 6
<b>GRANTS—</b>						
British Academy				100	0	0
"    Nuffield Trust				300	0	0
Government of India				200	0	0
"    Pakistan				50	0	0
"    Singapore				37	6	8
"    Malaya				46	0	0
"    Hong Kong				10	0	0
						743 6 8
RENTS						1,013 0 0
<b>JOURNAL ACCOUNT—</b>						
Subscriptions				821	1	11
Sales of copies and offprints				418	2	6
						1,239 4 5
INTEREST ON INVESTMENTS						526 6 0
INTEREST ON POST OFFICE SAVINGS BANK ACCOUNT						13 13 0
ROYALTIES						25 11 5
SALE OF CATALOGUE						15 2 5
SALE OF CENTENARY VOLUME						17 6
SALE OF "OR. MSS. COLLECTIONS" by J. D. Pearson						4 0 6
SALE OF CONGRESS PROCEEDINGS						61 2 0
SUNDRY RECEIPTS						63 10 2
<b>SALE OF INVESTMENTS:—</b>						
£1,470 19s. 9d. 2½% Funding Loan 1956-51				1,416	7	6
£1,162 17s. 5d. 3½% War Stock				774	11	2
£777 1s. 1d. 4% Funding Loan 1960-90				678	15	1
						2,869 13 9
BALANCE ON 31.12.1957						1,254 2 4
						<u>£8,770 0 8</u>

## GENERAL ACCOUNT INVESTMENTS

£2,396 5s. 3d. 3% Funding Loan 1959-69.  
 £4,453 17s. 4d. British Transport 3% Guaranteed Stock 1968-73.  
 £5,000 British Electricity 3% Guaranteed Stock 1968-73.  
 £1,149 3s. 11d. 3% Savings Bonds 1965-75.  
 £998 11s. British Transport 3% Guaranteed Stock 1978-88.  
 600 Mercantile Investment and General Trust Co., Ltd. 5s. ordinary shares.  
 200 Associated Electrical Industries, Ltd. £1 ordinary stock units  
 150 Tube Investments, Ltd. £1 ordinary stock units.  
 £575 Messina Transvaal Development Co., Ltd. 6½% unsecured loan stock.  
 305 Associated British Picture Corporation, Ltd. 5s. ordinary stock units.

# PAYMENTS FOR 1958

## PAYMENTS

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
HOUSE ACCOUNT—						
Rent and Taxes . . . . .	350	0	0			
Rates on Flats . . . . .	184	5	6			
Water Rates . . . . .	37	8	1			
Gas and Light . . . . .	231	5	9			
Coal and Coke . . . . .	137	1	9			
Telephone . . . . .	29	12	11			
Cleaning . . . . .	15	0	0			
Insurance . . . . .	109	1	7			
Repairs and Renewals . . . . .	821	19	9	1,915	15	4
SALARIES AND WAGES . . . . .						
				1,683	14	8
PRINTING AND STATIONERY . . . . .						
				52	17	1½
JOURNAL ACCOUNT—						
Printing . . . . .	1,155	18	11			
Postage . . . . .	53	19	0½	1,209	18	5½
LIBRARY EXPENDITURE . . . . .						
				20	3	6
GENERAL POSTAGE . . . . .						
				59	19	8
SUNDRY EXPENSES—						
Teas . . . . .	50	19	0			
Lectures . . . . .	39	10	0			
National Health and Insurance . . . . .	75	9	5			
General . . . . .	142	13	11			
Audit Fee . . . . .	5	5	0	313	17	4
PURCHASE OF INVESTMENTS :—						
600 Mercantile Investment and General Trust, Ltd., 5s. ordinary shares . . . . .	562	11	6			
200 Associated Electrical Industries, Ltd., £1 ordinary stock units . . . . .	555	1	6			
150 Tube Investments, Ltd., £1 ordinary stock units . . . . .	555	1	6			
£575 Messina Transvaal Development Co., Ltd., 6½% unsecured loan stock . . . . .	574	5	2			
305 Associated British Picture Corporation, Ltd., 5s. Ordinary stock units . . . . .	621	8	4	2,868	8	0
BALANCE ON 31.12.1958—						
On Current Account . . . . .	80	7	5			
Cash in hand . . . . .	4	14	9			
„ „ Post Office Savings Bank . . . . .	560	4	5	645	6	7
				£8,770	0	8

We have examined the above Abstract of Receipts and Payments with the Books and Vouchers of the Society, and report that it is in accordance therewith. We have obtained proper confirmation of the Investments and Bank Balances therein described.

PRICE WATERHOUSE & CO.,  
Professional Auditors.

2nd September, 1959.

3 Frederick's Place, Old Jewry, E.C. 2.

Countersigned { A. L. BASHAM, Auditor for the Council.  
C. J. WHITTING, Auditor for the Society.



# SPECIAL FUNDS, 1958

## ORIENTAL TRANSLATION FUND

RECEIPTS			PAYMENTS		
	£	s. d.		£	s. d.
BALANCE, 1/1/58 . . . .	346	6 5	SUNDRIES		9 0
SALES . . . . .	113	6 2	BALANCE, 31/12/58 . . . .	461	4 6
INTEREST ON DEPOSIT ACCOUNT . . . .	2	0 11			
	<u>£461</u>	<u>13 6</u>			<u>£461</u>
					<u>13 6</u>

## ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY'S MONOGRAPH FUND

SALES . . . . .	98	16 8	BALANCE, 1/1/58 . . . .	16	19 10
			PRINTING AND BINDING 500 VOL. XXIII . . . . .	70	0 0
			POSTAGE . . . . .	13	0
			BALANCE, 31/12/58 . . . .	11	3 10
	<u>£98</u>	<u>16 8</u>		<u>£98</u>	<u>16 8</u>

## SUMMARY OF SPECIAL FUNDS' BALANCES 31st DEC., 1958

ORIENTAL TRANSLATION FUND . . . .	461	4 6	R.A.S. CASH AT BANK—		
R.A.S. MONOGRAPH FUND . . . . .	11	3 10	On current account . . . .	412	8 4
			On deposit account . . . .	60	0 0
	<u>£472</u>	<u>8 4</u>		<u>£472</u>	<u>8 4</u>

# TRUST FUNDS, 1958

## PRIZE PUBLICATION FUND

BALANCE, 1/1/58 . . . .	304	17 1	31/12/58 BALANCE CARRIED TO	362	18 1
SALES . . . . .	40	1 0	SUMMARY . . . . .		
DIVIDENDS . . . . .	18	0 0			
	<u>£362</u>	<u>18 1</u>		<u>£362</u>	<u>18 1</u>

## GOLD MEDAL FUND

BALANCE, 1/1/58 . . . .	37	0 5	31/12/58 BALANCE CARRIED TO	46	15 5
DIVIDENDS . . . . .	9	15 0	SUMMARY . . . . .		
	<u>£46</u>	<u>15 5</u>		<u>£46</u>	<u>15 5</u>

# UNIVERSITIES' PRIZE ESSAY FUND

BALANCE, 1/1/58 . . . . .	43 1 5	PRINTING . . . . .	3 4 6
DIVIDENDS . . . . .	24 14 9	31/12/58 BALANCE CARRIED TO	
INCOME TAX REFUND . . . . .	2 18 6	SUMMARY . . . . .	67 10 2
	<u>£70 14 8</u>		<u>£70 14 8</u>

## DR. B. C. LAW TRUST ACCOUNT

BALANCE, 1/1/58 . . . . .	380 5 10	31/12/58 BALANCE CARRIED TO	
DIVIDENDS . . . . .	5 14 10	SUMMARY . . . . .	390 7 5
INCOME TAX REFUND . . . . .	4 6 9		
	<u>£390 7 5</u>		<u>£390 7 5</u>

## SUMMARY OF TRUST FUND BALANCES 31st DEC., 1958

PRIZE PUBLICATION FUND . . . . .	£ 362 18 1	31/12/58 CASH AT BANK ON	£ s. d.
GOLD MEDAL FUND . . . . .	46 15 5	CURRENT ACCOUNT . . . . .	867 11 1
UNIVERSITIES PRIZE ESSAY FUND . . . . .	67 10 2		
DR. B. C. LAW TRUST FUND . . . . .	390 7 5		
	<u>£867 11 1</u>		<u>£867 11 1</u>

## TRUST FUND INVESTMENTS

£800 Nottingham Corporation 3% Irredeemable Stock (Prize Publication Fund).  
 £325 Nottingham Corporation 3% Irredeemable Stock (Gold Medal Fund).  
 £845 11s. 2d. Nottingham Corporation 3% Irredeemable Stock (Universities Prize Essay Fund).  
 £40 3½% Conversion Loan (Universities Prize Essay Fund).  
 £229 16s. 9d. 3% Savings Bonds, 1965-75 (Universities Prize Essay Fund).  
 Rs. 12,000 3% Government of India Conversion Loan 1946 (Dr. B. C. Law Trust Account).

## STAFF PENSION FUND

RECEIPTS		PAYMENTS	
BALANCE, 1/1/58 . . . . .	115 18 9	PURCHASE OF £264 6s. 5s. BRITISH	
DIVIDENDS . . . . .	54 12 0	ELECTRICITY 3% GUARANTEED	
INCOME TAX REFUND . . . . .	24 1 4	STOCK 1968-73 . . . . .	200 0 0
REPAYMENT OF 4% VICTORY BONDS	100 0 0	31/12/58 CASH AT BANK ON CURRENT	
		ACCOUNT . . . . .	94 12 1
	<u>£294 12 1</u>		<u>£294 12 1</u>

## STAFF PENSION FUND INVESTMENTS

£2325 4% Consolidated Stock  
 £912 10s. 3½% Conversion Stock  
 £175 Plymouth Corporation 3½% Redeemable Stock 1972-82  
 £735 3% Savings Bonds 1960-70  
 £50 4% Victory Bonds  
 £264 6s. 5d. British Electricity, 3% Guaranteed Stock 1968-73

# BURTON MEMORIAL FUND, 1958

BALANCE, 1/1/58 . . . . .	5 2 7	31/12/58 CASH AT BANK ON	
DIVIDENDS . . . . .	16 10	CURRENT ACCOUNT . . . . .	6 11 10
INCOME TAX REFUND . . . . .	12 5		
	<u>£6 11 10</u>		<u>£6 11 10</u>

## INVESTMENT

£48 16s. 9d. 3% Funding Loan 1959-69

# JAMES G. B. FORLONG FUND, 1958

BALANCE, 1/1/58 . . . . .	1,071 2 5	SCHOOL OF ORIENTAL AND AFRICAN	
SALES . . . . .	71 5 11	STUDIES—	
DIVIDENDS . . . . .	197 17 8	Three Exhibitions . . . . .	150 0 0
INCOME TAX REFUND . . . . .	11 15 6	COMMISSION ON SALES, 1957 . . . . .	8 12 9
INTEREST ON P.O. SAVINGS BANK		POSTAGE . . . . .	7
ACCOUNT . . . . .	16 3 6	BALANCE—	
	<u>£1,368 5 0</u>	Cash at Bank on	
		Current Account	346 1 2
		Cash in P.O. Savings	
		Bank . . . . .	<u>863 10 6</u>
			1,209 11 8
			<u>£1,368 5 0</u>

## FORLONG FUND INVESTMENTS

£2,017 11s. 3d. 3% Savings Bonds 1960-70.  
£1,217 2s. 8d. 3% Treasury Stock.  
£700 3½% Conversion Loan.  
£253 18s. 4d. 3½% War Loan.  
£1,051 8s. 7d. British Electricity 3% Guaranteed Stock, 1968-73.  
£923 7s. 7d. 3% Savings Bonds, 1965-75.  
£500 4% Defence Bonds.

We have examined the above Abstracts of Receipts and Payments with the Books and Vouchers of the Society, and report that they are in accordance therewith. We have obtained proper confirmation of the investments and Bank Balances therein described.

PRICE WATERHOUSE & CO.,  
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3 Frederick's Place, Old Jewry, E.C. 2.

2nd September, 1959.

Countersigned { A. L. BASHAM, Auditor for the Council.  
C. J. WHITTING, Auditor for the Society.

Miller. It welcomed as Honorary Fellows three scholars of great repute in their respective fields.

The number of new members was the highest for years, mainly due to the recruiting zeal of a young American member studying in London, Mr. John Spellman. This large accession to the list of members was doubly welcome in view of the need to spend £821 on repairs to their premises. As for those repairs, he was amused at the views of the architect on the defects in their back walls. "These builder fellows," he declared, "are responsible. An owner asks for a door here or a window there and the builder inserts it without thinking of the stress on the wall above." It struck him at once that the learned members of their Society were rather like the architect and politicians and publicists like the builder. For the work of the scholar was more or less enduring and the work of the politician and publicist constantly needed patching and repair. So the Society eschewed politics.

Larger than expenditure on building was the annually recurring printer's bill, which grew with the years—a warning to him not to be diffuse. In early days, he noted, the President's remarks were short and formal, though the members had to listen to a twenty-page report by the Secretary, which now often made good reading. In 1843, for example, he quoted a letter from a benefactor, a Nabob living in Carlton House Terrace, who referred to the new facilities of travel by steamship and anticipated that "the period may arrive when India will render us independent of all other nations for the great products required for our consumption and our manufactures". Times had changed since then, with Africa's gold and Malaya's rubber. And they had changed too since forty-six years ago. Lord Reay was lamenting the loss to the Society from the habit so many members of the Indian Civil Service had of retiring to the country instead of to what he termed the Metropolis. To-day fewer and fewer of that extinct service survived. The staff and students of the School of African and Oriental Studies were taking its place as the Society's best recruiting field and as Britain's envoys to the East.

He was sorry that the winner of the Society's Triennial Gold Medal, Professor Creswell, that distinguished pioneer in the study of Islamic architecture, was not there to receive the latest of his many honours. He was sorry, too, that Mr. Young could not come from Leeds to receive the Universities' Prize Essay, the competition

for which, down to 1913, was confined not to undergraduates but to boys from seven schools, Charterhouse, Eton, Harrow, Merchant Taylors', Rugby, Westminster, and Winchester. In that year the President's speech for the ceremony covered two pages of our *Journal* and that of Lord Sydenham, who presented it, took up five pages. Clearly the last fifty years had seen a decline in the verbosity of the Society's chief actors and of that decline in verbiage he would take advantage and conclude.

#### PRESENTATION OF THE SOCIETY'S TRIENNIAL GOLD MEDAL TO PROFESSOR K. A. C. CRESWELL.

Presenting this medal on the 11th June, the President, Sir Gerard Clauson, remarked that a study of the list of his predecessors led to the conclusion that what Lord Melbourne had said in praise of the Order of the Garter, that there was "no damned merit about it", was true also of the office he had the honour to hold. The alternative was to believe that half the Oriental learning in Great Britain had been concentrated in the peerage—two marquesses, six earls, two viscounts, and four barons having been Presidents of the Society.

No one could say there was no damned merit about those who had been awarded their Gold Medal since it was instituted in 1897. What a wonderful body of world-famous scholars they were! And to-day's recipient, Professor Creswell, had not only got to the head of his profession: he had created his subject. No one before him had studied and described early Muslim architecture. They could all think of great scholars who had absorbed learning like a sponge all their lives and gone to the grave full of learning they had never imparted to any one. Professor Creswell was not one of them. His first book appeared forty years ago. In 1932 and 1940 his first *magnum opus*, *Early Muslim Architecture*, was published in two magnificent volumes. In 1952 the Oxford University Press issued the first volume of another *magnum opus*, *The Muslim Architecture of Egypt*, and the second volume was on the way. Then, only last year the Professor had become a best seller with a *Short account of early Muslim Architecture* in the Pelican series. The lead which their Gold Medallist had given had of course been followed, but no one in the world would have the audacity to claim that he knew nearly as much about Muslim architecture as Professor Creswell.



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